

INSIDE: The CBC faces the music


Maclean's

DECEMBER 24, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.50

The Slow Death of Afghanistan



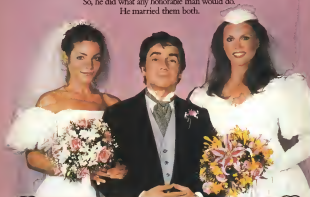
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COMING THIS CHRISTMAS

COVER

The slow death of Afghanistan

Five years after the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, its costly occupation has failed to quell resistance from bands of Muslim guerrillas. But Moscow's scorching earth policy of flushing out the rebels by a massive displacement of the nation's population has prompted critics to charge that it has launched a program of migratory genocide. —Page 22

COVER PHOTO BY RONALD CARROLL/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE



The trade unions in disarray

As a better miners' strike drags endlessly on, the British trade Labour Party allies are alarmed by the insidious breakdown in union solidarity. —Page 27



Clear signals in New York

Brian Mulroney travelled to New York last week to woo U.S. investors, but the warm reception he received did not guarantee that U.S. capital will flow north. —Page 36



The CBC faces the music

Last week, when CBC president Pierre Jusséau revealed what the \$75 million cuts would mean, some observers feared more permanent damage. —Page 41

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Aftermath of a poison cloud

American lawyers are lining up clients among survivors of India's toxic gas tragedy—and raising concern about Union Carbide's survival. —Page 34

On animal rights

I read with some concern your report "Fighting to free animals" (Science, Dec. 2). The article may leave serious misapprehensions in the minds of your readers concerning legitimate humane societies and their efforts to improve the treatment of research animals. You give the impression that the activists/vegetarians reacting to violence in reaction to the real or imagined mistreatment of animals in research laboratories represent the animal welfare movement in Canada as a whole. That is simply not so, and the legitimate, or "establishment," organizations stress that their policy and views are not anti/science/anti-research. They frequently express grave doubts about the moral justifications for some experiments and will openly criticize instances where animals are subjected to stress and pain for relatively trivial enquiry. However, they will nevertheless admit that both mankind and animals themselves ultimately benefit from this research and that in the wider world there is no substitute for a living animal for many investigations.

—LARRY CAPES,
Mississauga, Ont.

Scientists, in their never-ending search for longevity, seem determined to subject countless numbers of animals to their exploratory techniques. Sharon Bick, at the University of Western Ontario in London, is yet another case of this inhumane procedure. One must seriously question the rationale of these experiments and whether or not there is



Twillingate Harbour, Nfld.: 'copying'

sufficient biological correlation between the animal and human subjects to warrant its use. It is hoped that donors to institutions doing this type of research will conscientiously object to their funds being used in this manner.

—A.S. HESTER,
Stoney Creek, Ont.

Gremlins in captions

I noticed that the Oct. 28 cover story, "Canada in 24 hours," contained a picture with the caption "Chester lobster pots in Twillingate Harbour, Nfld." The name was very unfortunate, typical of outport Newfoundland. It was not, however, of boys checking lobster pots. If the editors had stopped to think, they would have realized that the picture shows no markers for lobster pots anywhere and certainly shows no one checking them. Nobody sets lobster pots under

What was actually taking place was the ancient art of "copying," a traditional activity among outport Newfoundlanders. It involves jumping from sea pen to sea pen, before the sun on which you are standing sinks under your weight. It is a practice such as this one and the general attitude of the media toward Newfoundland that I find degrading. Please bear this in mind when you are publishing another "poetic" picture of Newfoundland.

—SANDRA WELCH,
St. John's, Nfld.

I am surprised that, to date, no one has pointed out the incorrect caption on a photo included in your article "Canada in 24 hours." The Joe horns supposedly in Victoria's harbor are actually in Rugged-Point Harbour, with Cole Island, a former naval arsenal, in the foreground. Victoria's harbor is, after all, a little more developed.

—IAN H. WILLIAMS,
Surrey, B.C.

PAGES

ENLARGED Elizabeth Taylor, 58, whose former boyfriends are hotel chain heir Nicky Hilton, actor Michael Wilding, producer Michael Todd, Eddie Fisher, Richard Burton and U.S. Senator John Warner, to film laboratory associate Derek Hicks, 38. Taylor, who married Burton twice, plans to marry for the eighth time in March.

REMARKING British actor Sean Connery, 34, whose movies include *The Longwalk, Mondays, Street Dogs* and *Summer Heat*, to Police Court regular Simon MacCormack, 32. The couple, who married for the first time in Feb. 10, October, plan to marry on Dec. 22 in London with family and friends in attendance.

INJURED Air Canada president Claude Taylor, 59, who he was struck by an automobile while crossing a street in downtown Montreal. Taylor, who started at Air Canada, then called Trans-Canada Airlines, as a reservations agent in 1960, suffered injuries to his head, shoulder and face in the accident.

TRADED Montreal Expos outfielder and star right-handed batter Gary Carter, 30, to the New York Mets in exchange for four Mets players. Already dubbed the Peewee by U.S. sportswriters, Carter will receive \$1.5 million a year until the end of the 1989 season.

DIED Jazz trumpeter Charles Tangeler, 72, who worked with such musicians as Red Nichols, Paul Whitman, Harry James and Jimmy Dorsey, in Las Vegas. Tangeler also played in bands with his older brother Jack, who died in 1964.

DIED Movie and theatre actor Luther Adler, 81, who starred on Broadway in the 1950s and performed in his first Broadway musical, *Fiddler on the Roof*, in 1962, at his home in Kutztown, Pa. A founding member of New York's Group Theatre, Adler worked with such playwrights as Clifford Odets and Paddy Chayefsky. Adler also appeared in movies and his films include *Walter of the Red Watch* with John Wayne and *The Desert Fox* with James Mason.

RELEASED British Columbia Junior Hockey League player Allan Chastlin, 20, a defenceman for the Nanaimo Clippers, after assault charges against him were dropped by the Vancouver police. Chastlin is in Prague, once a Czech prison. Chastlin was jailed on Nov. 18 after he allegedly consumed two bottles of wine at a lunch and punched an usher at the hockey arena where he and his teammates had been an earlier victory.

Q&A: HOWARD PAWLEY

The 'odd man out' premier

When Howard Pawley became Manitoba's 20th premier in 1981, he did not claim that his job priority was to clear "the completely poisonous atmosphere" that had developed between his province and Ottawa during the four-year reign of Sterling Lyon, its Tory provincialist Premier. But this 40-year-old, middle-aged NDP premier has often heralded his ability to get along with other governments, especially the one in Ottawa. But recently, relations between Manitoba and the new federal Tory government have become strained by Ottawa's move to trim its expenditures, resulting in a loss of services and projects in the province. And in one highly publicized incident, Pawley discovered from a document inadvertently supplied by federal Finance Minister Michael Wilson and published by the *Winnipeg Free Press* that Ottawa was unlikely to raise a proposed \$70-million cut in federal-provincial equalization payments, despite the minister's assurance that he would consider the matter. In the midst of the controversy Premier Pawley spoke with Maclean's editorial board in Toronto.

Maclean's: Brian Mulroney has said that there is going to be a new period of consultation and good relationship with the provinces. In light of our resolution in the Wilson documents, how do you feel this is going?

Pawley: First, I was naturally dismayed because we have a very tight case to present. The evidence in these secret documents indicates that Macleah has been hit harder than other provinces [by the new equalization formula]. Also, [the memo] apparently advise that the news on the equalization payments should not be broken because Manitoba was dealt with very harshly. I was dismayed because I had thought that we were dealing up front, in the open. I want, in fact, to continue to believe that. But I certainly want to see how the Mulroney government intends to deal with Manitoba. I would like to be assured that there is not going to be any secret plan. Our discussion is going to be aboveboard and on the table. For all its faults, we had a good relationship with the previous government. We had disagreements in policy but we had a good relationship of trust and, even with all our criticism of [former Liberal transport minister Lloyd] Axworthy, we were at least able to meet together in our offices at any time of the day, put our cards on the table and work together on behalf of the province. We were of dif-

ferent political stripes but we were prepared to talk without tension and hostility—and that is the kind of relationship we want. I had understood the PM wanted the same kind of relationship. It is kind of a peculiar situation now. Manitoba, the one province that has been able to co-operate with the gov-

ernment with the federal government, now finds itself dealing with some secret plan.

Maclean's: What did Premier Minister Michael Wilson first say to believe in regard to the proposed \$70-million cut in federal transfer payments to Manitoba? Pawley: What my minister mentioned reported to me, before that time, as that Wilson did not commit himself one way or the other. If I recall correctly, Victor Schreder had the impression that we would know by January. I was unhappy with the continued delay because this is not a recent issue—it has gone on for



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months—here, but I feel encouraged that at least the door was open and we would be having further discussions.

Maclean: Might your fantasy have something to do with the end of Liberal reign, for your part?

Pawley: I am delighted to correct the misimpression you have just expressed. There has not been a Liberal largesse. We have been receiving less than our share of federal dollars over the past five years. By way of equalization and transfer payments there has been a general reduction of the dollars going into Manitoba in relation to the rest of Canada. What you saw by way of Liberal largesse were highly visible projects such as the Institute for Manufacturing Technology (National Research Council project), the very one that the present government has cancelled.

Maclean: It's interesting a high-profile project and yet apparently not associating with you in good faith, what are the federal Tories trying to tell you? Is Manitoba sort of add-on to not among the premier?

Pawley: I think, opportunistic, we were left more. Other parts of Canada have been left entirely too. The ferry service to the Atlantic provinces—I think, what the Atlantic provinces, regardless of their political stance, will have to speak out about the cut in that service. But I think that with the cancellation of the Institute for Manufacturing Technology, the cuts in the rocket industry in Charlottetown, the weather service program in Guelph, the uncertainty about Via Rail in Winnipeg and the other Crown corporations, Comtech Inc., that Manitoba has not been treated unfairly. I think it is regrettable that the four members of the Western cabinet from the province of Manitoba have obviously put up only mild resistance to the disproportionate cuts for Manitoba. The representation has not been as effective as it should be.

Maclean: Do you think that one of the reasons people voted Tory was because they thought that the Conservatives could better represent the hopes and aspirations of the West? Has there been a shift to the West in terms of power or focus?

Pawley: Well, certainly that has not been the case insofar as Manitoba is concerned, because Michael Wilson's briefing papers acknowledge that Manitoba was dealt with more harshly than other parts of the country. I think that Alberta is certainly going to be better with the move to world of prices it will cost Ontario money, it will cost Manitoba money and it will cost us from an industrial point of view. As a result, when we talk about the West some parts will be better off while other parts may not be, unless there is a change in thinking.

COLUMN

The hypocrisies of hypocrisy

By Barbara Amiel

How many of the following views would you agree with?

1. Individuals are largely responsible for their own fortunes or misfortunes.

2. The plight of the underdeveloped world is not the fault of the industrialized nations.

3. There are some fundamental differences between genders, groups and races that are intractable and not the result of discrimination.

After nearly 15 years of interviewing, specifying and reading literally thousands of letters to me, I would venture to say that a large percentage of Canadians hold these perfectly decent and legitimate views privately, but are afraid to make them known publicly. Something has happened in Canada over the past 15 years, and it is not a trend with which few people should be happy.

Some weeks ago, I sat in a Toronto restaurant with a senior Canadian politician. He raised about contemporary problems. His remarks were to the point, but the conversation was off the record. The next day at work, the politician in question, speaking in the same house, will take precisely the opposite stance to his private opinions.

It is de rigueur to say that this is simply the pragmatism of politics. It does not have to be, as in countries like Britain and the United States, the distance between private and public views has narrowed dramatically with the elections of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. In Canada this is not the case. The gap between what people think privately and say publicly has widened immensely.

Not in the province of Canada limited to politicians. In the past few years I have spoken to authors of various books, from such subjects as affirmative action, race relations, abortion and so on. Their personal views of what is best for society—and, more importantly, what is just and equitable—are often quite light years apart from what they publicly announced. They see the inherent absurdity of social pay for work of equal value, they know there are major moral problems with affirmative action, they will state that Canada's official multiculturalism is a divisive and negative approach to social harmony—but publicly they applied the very changes they deplore in personal conversation.

What is going on in Canada? In 1978 an ex-bank clerk and soldier in the Austrian army named Jaroslav Hasek returned to Prague and wrote a novel called *The Good Soldier Schweik*. Hasek's book is set in the burlesque of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where the mild-mannered good soldier Schweik lives in a world which is permeated with the spies and tattlers of an authoritarian regime. Schweik himself is an ordinary man. As such, the farcical nature of the spying and the harshness of the regime of Emperor Franz Joseph is to be pitied, not to be feared. But he understands the atmosphere of the times. When even the bartender may report a lawless and enthusiastic soldier, there's no harm in avoiding loyalty, denunciation and failure to Franz Joseph.

Schweik's story became a classic because it gave voice to a common attitude in Central and Eastern Europe. It was an attitude that survived the Hapsburgs and intimidated under the Nazis and the Communists. Basically, the Schweikist stance necessitated accepting social or political positions in public that were diametrically opposed to what a person felt in private. In offices, or at meetings, or wherever strangers could overhear, the good soldier Schweik would always be the obedient and proper bank clerk. In the privacy of his home, however, he would be the free world of the farcical tagging of Schweik. That, indeed, was one of the charms that so attracted the Eastern European refugees from Communism. Whatever stress people in Canada might hold—however devout, intelligent, stupid or shallow—what people said in private about political and social issues was more or less what they said in public. If a man stood up and made a speech about apple pie and motherhood, there was a good chance he believed it. And if there was any trace of the hypocrisy of Schweik in North America, it was to be found mainly among authoritarian corporate executives.

times and their wives who were loyal to the company irrespective of what they felt about it.

The changes in Canada began in the late 1960s, continued in the 1970s and are now in full bloom. Thank God it has not yet remotely reached Eastern European proportions, but the change is in. Today, people are hesitant to give their opinion as some of the ancient Chinese sage who they do not much care with the semi-official trends of the day as expressed by the mainstream media and government publications.

What we have today is a society permeated with unspoken Schweikisms who don't believe half of the abhorrence and condescension of this society—whether they have to do with the equality of women or racial harmony—even if some of these abhorrence deserves to be respected. What we have today is a somewhat used and abused population generally in agreement with the trends of the mainstream imposed upon it by a ruling left-liberal elite that has managed to grab key positions in the government, media and education—many of whom only believe in their own sentiments privately.

"Today, people are hesitant to give their opinions . . . if they do not match up with the semi-official trends"

Nothing illustrates the emptiness of belief in the left-liberal elite more than the great sigh of relief that comes when a leader like Reagan or Thatcher emerges, bringing with them policies that echo the real not Schweikist sentiments of the people. All of a sudden, like a lamp going out, the gloom, you can glimpse the true feelings of the people as they support sending the fleet to the Philippines, refuse to endorse the Equal Rights Amendment or want proper back in the schools.

In Canada, to some extent, that happened with the election of Brian Mulroney. The great safeguard action of the few surviving Liberals is to try to invent some kind of opposition after his election was a rejection of that great social experiment based on our citizens in the name of the "Just Society." The Liberals indeed are saying that so loudly that there is a distinct possibility that Prime Minister Mulroney will believe it.

It is not so. But if the new government continues flagging the old, dead, tired abhorrence of left-liberalism, this nation will become a bad listening not with the energy produced by the free debate of ideas but a head of hypocrisy, afraid to speak up, fearing their own dissent, "personal" and "confidential"—good old-fashioned Schweik all, wearing fidelity to the emperor of our day.





Mulroney at Ritz-Carlton Club: 'the aim is to assist and not harass the private sector in playing new jobs' in Canada

CANADA

Clear signals in New York

By Michael Chagnon

For more than a decade the highly visible symbols of Canadian economic nationalism created by Liberal governments—including Ottawa's Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) and the National Energy Program (NEP)—were regularly denounced in the United States as evidence of Canada's hostility to American investment. Then, last week Prime Minister Brian Mulroney sent a clear signal to Americans that an era had passed. He told an enthusiastic audience of 1,400 at the Economic Club of New York "Canada is open for business again. The government of Canada is there to assist—and not harass—the private sector in creating the new wealth and new jobs that Canada needs." The Prime Minister was interrupted 11 times by applause. But in Canada, Mulroney's gesture led to harsh criticism from nationalists. And, despite his warm reception in New York, there was no guarantee that his government's welcoming approach to American capital would create significant new investment.

Many U.S. government officials and

business leaders said that Mulroney's speech would indeed help to create a favorable climate for U.S. investment. They added that Ottawa's decision earlier this month to replace FIRA with a more lenient agency known as Investment Canada would also be attractive. Nord Donald Lenz, a vice-president of the New York investment firm of Goldman Sachs. "I can just see chief executive officers who, when people mentioned investment in Canada in the past, would it off. Now they wouldn't mind that way."

Mulroney's fellow Tories and many members of Canadian (business) and business circles also applauded the initiative. But even with his promise to "enhance Canada's sovereignty," the Prime Minister's speech angered opposition politicians and even some ministers. Liberal industry critic Lloyd Axworthy, for one, declared that "those guys [in New York] like prime ministers who roll over and say 'bow wow.'" New Democratic Party Leader Ed Broadbent said that the Prime Minister "will owe the American investors to come up here and drink Canada dry. In fact, he offered to hold the glass for them." Despite that loud criticism, a Gallup

poll conducted early in November and published last week showed that Mulroney is the most popular of Canada's national political leaders—with the support of 47 per cent of those polled, compared to only 11 per cent for Liberal leader John Turner, who ranked for the first time to third place behind Broadbent with 23 per cent.

In New York, Mulroney provided a general outline of the government's plans for attracting future foreign investors. Investment Canada will only screen direct foreign takeovers of firms with more than \$5 million in assets. The Conservatives now plan to overhaul the Liberal-designed NEP. Mulroney described as "adverse" the NEP provision that allows the federal government to claim 20 per cent of all oil found on federal land, the far north and offshore—and he indicated that the provision will be scrapped.

Although his speech received little coverage in the U.S. media, Mulroney's New York visit was a high-profile event. He was introduced at the Economic Club dinner by Ross Johnson, an old friend from his days at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S. Johnson is now vice-chairman of the U.S.

food giant Nabors Bros. Inc. Then, the day after the address a nine-page advertising supplement in Canada's premier investment policy appeared in *The New York Times*. This ad was sponsored by Mulroney himself, as well as his business, the Canadian Federal Trade and External Affairs departments and the Ontario and Alberta governments.

Still, there may be relatively little increase in American investment in the immediate future. A survey published last spring by the Group of Thirty, a New York-based association of economists, indicated that a majority of U.S. companies expect to cut back on all foreign investment over the next few years. Most U.S. capital, the group found, will be invested domestically or in the buoyant economies of Japan and Southeast Asia. Some of the most attractive investment opportunities in Canada are in the petroleum and mining sectors. But global markets for these resources are currently depressed.

After his New York address, Mulroney responded to critics of his new investment crusade by arguing in the Commons that FIRA's strongest impediment to takeover bids from outside the country intimidated foreign investors to the point that "you could not get anybody to put a plugged nickel in this country." In fact, it has never been clearly established just how great a role FIRA played in discouraging foreign investors. After the agency was set up in 1974, overall foreign control of the Canadian economy declined steadily from about 20 per cent in 1971 to 10 per cent by 1981. But other factors involved in the decline included takeovers of foreign-owned firms by Canadian governments and investors. Indeed, many nationalists critics considered that FIRA provided little more than a cosmetic function because the agency had always used a high proportion of applications and, after a 1982 streamlining of the procedures, pushed through from 65 to 80 per cent of foreign takeover bids.

This year foreign direct investment in Canada increased sharply even before the Mulroney government began dismantling FIRA. The foreign inflow reached \$13 billion in the first half of 1984, compared to only \$100 million for all of 1982. But economists attributed that surge to optimism generated by the anticipation of a change in government and they added that the trend may not continue. Still, there were indications that Mulroney is at least creating interest in American business circles. Last week the Canadian consulates in New York reported that they had received 100 enquiries from U.S. investors.

With Stuart McDowell in Washington, David MacKay in Toronto and Alison Andrew in Montreal.

Auditing federal waste

In the preamble to his annual report, which he tabled in Parliament last week, Auditor General Kenneth Dye admitted that he has always clung to the hope that public servants would spend public money as carefully as if it were their own. Unfortunately, so Dye's report revealed, some unidentified public servants indeed spent taxpayers' money as if it were their own—using it to buy airline tickets for personal trips. But potentially more threatening to federal security plans for parliamentary control over spending was the auditor general's revelation that the defence department has been losing out billions of dollars without Parliament's approval to cover its operations. But global markets for extra spending on a new fleet of American-made fighter planes—the most costly single Canadian weapons purchase in defence history—had been secured in 1980 with McDonnell Douglas Corp. of St. Louis, Mo. Dye said the cost estimates for Canada's new CF-18 jet fighters were "wildly out of line"—with the expense of the 128 planes delivered or on order soaring in four years from \$1.2 billion to \$2.2 billion.

The publication of Dye's fourth report on government inefficiency and waste coincided with the appearance in Parliament of the auditor general's long-standing struggle to make Ottawa more accountable about its spending decisions. Within hours of his report's publication—which he recognized that five government departments had been less than co-operative in providing information—Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced in the Commons that Dye would be handed any additional information he needed. Mulroney assigned St. John's, Nfld., M.P. James McGrath to work out a plan with Dye that will give him access to financial information contained in confidential cabinet documents, without violating the traditional secrecy surrounding govern-

ment decisions in cabinet. Dye, who has been battling Ottawa for two years to find out more about Pejeo Canada's 1984 purchase of the Baffin-owned oil company Petrolina, appeared satisfied after private talks with Mulroney. "I'm just persistent," he noted. "All soldiers are persistent."

Dye's latest report to Parliament covered the operations of four government ministries and two agencies in the fiscal year that ended last March 31, when Trudeau's Liberal government held power. Dye examined particular concerns about overspend-

ing by the defence department as the CF-18 Hornets, noting that Parliament gave the defence department authority to spend only \$5 billion as 138 of the fighters. But the department of national defence has hidden an additional \$2.2 billion in fighter costs by diverting funds from other military programs. Defense Minister Robert Coates acknowledged that funds had been improperly allocated, but blamed the "penicillin" habits of the previous Liberal government. Mulroney's government officials, said Coates, were "trying to put the best face on what little money they had available so that at least we wouldn't lose our total reputation as far as our defence commitments was concerned."

Just as alarming to Dye was the performance of the public works department, which controls 400 million acres of land and 65,700 buildings, making the federal government the largest single landholder in the country. Sometimes, he noted, Dye, civil servants keep and pay for empty buildings for years. Dye's recommendations found that for 12 long-term building leases, payments were more than \$60,000,000 because of the lack of proper study and authorization. Despite the evidence of carelessness and ineptitude, Dye was impressive in Ottawa's financial performance for years. Dye's second accounts/May compared to the mid-1970s, "declared Dye. "I certainly don't despair."

—TIMOTHY HARVEY in Ottawa



Dye: persistence

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In defence of indiscretion

With a weary but indelible smile, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney defended Finance Minister Michael Wilson last week as a man whose work was "a great tribute to Canada." But he could not deny that the candid utterances of the onetime investment dealer have been something of a trial in recent weeks. In his third embarrassing scrape this month, Wilson told two Canadian Press (CP) reporters last week that the Conservatives, during last summer's election campaign, deliberately suppressed news to review social programs, for fear that the Liberals would take advantage of any such statement to alarm voters. But Wilson's admission was rejected by Mulroney, who insisted that the Tories "held nothing back" as the campaign trail. As the opposition grilled him over Wilson's gaffe, Mulroney could only reply, "From time to time, all of us get into a bit of trouble with the press, but that is not necessarily fatal."

The latest incident involving Wilson came only two weeks after the Finance minister inadvertently left behind his confidential briefing papers in a Winnipeg hotel lobby—where two journalists read them—and then had to reprimand one of his aides for secretly taping a meeting with Manitoba government officials. Moreover, there were signs that the trouble may go beyond Wilson's political survival and frankness and constitute a fundamental rift within the Mulroney cabinet.

In the House, Mulroney was also bothered with questions about Wilson's assertion in the same CP interview that "there are people who don't need" social assistance programs "upper- and middle-income social programs cannot be afforded today." Then left the impression that Wilson expects to reduce family allowance benefits for upper-income Canadians in his spring budget, while Mulroney insists that the issue is merely up for discussion. A divergence of viewpoint emerged when Wilson of Wilson's economic statement on Nov. 8, when Wilson told reporters at a post-budget lunch that a review of social programs could be expected to provide room to cut the government's \$35-billion deficit. But Mulroney has drung to the position that such savings would be redirected to the needy. Until budget day, it may require all of Mulroney's political skills—and no intervention course in discretion for Wilson—to convince Canadians that the government speaks with one voice.

—CLARE GONAR in Ottawa

NATIONAL NOTES

A new date for Hatfield



Hatfield privileged

Just as the judge, who was to have been on charges against Hatfield last week, removed from the case. But an embarrassed Harper simplified matters by voluntarily requesting that he be taken off the case. Now Hatfield, who was treated for laryngitis in Montreal last week before returning to face down critics in his Tory mansion, will wait until Jan. 26, when another judge, Andrew Harnett, will try his case in Fredericton.

Faro's time runs out

For most Canadians Dec. 31 is a time to celebrate the advent of a new year. But for the people of the Yukon town of Faro, it could mean the end of their community and of the Cypress Avell lead-tin mine that once generated more than 40 per cent of the territory's revenues. Since 1982, when the parent firm of Dome Petroleum Ltd. suspended operations at the increasingly unprofitable mine, the town's population has dwindled to about 1,000 people from 3,500. Now, in federal subsidized strip-mining program, which has kept some 200 workers employed at the mine, is scheduled to wind up at year's end. Northern Affairs Minister David Cougle, who has ruled out federal subsidies to keep the mine in business, gave private investment consultant Pierre Gosselin a list the end of the year to decide whether the mine could be sold back to life or should be sold. He has recommended that the operating pure down to costs by \$50 million annually, with \$10 million of that coming out of employee wages and benefits. He also warned that if the mine did start up again, its profitability would be quickly subverted by competition from a richer vein of lead-zinc-silver in Alaska. Noted Gosselin, who refused to discuss the new deal that he is proposing between the mine and members of the United Steelworkers of America. "The people of there will have to decide what they are willing to put into this thing to make it happen."

More Liberal setbacks

Since the Liberals were crushed in the Sept. 4 federal election, the party has been suffering further setbacks at the provincial level across the country. After losing six seats in the Nov. 6 Nova Scotia election and six in the Oct. 22 by-elections in British Columbia and New Brunswick, the Jackman Grits lost two out of four Liberal-held seats in contested Ontario by-elections last week. The Ontario losses came in two Hamilton-area ridings: Westnorth North, which went to the Tories, and Hamilton Centre, where the winner was New Democratic Party candidate Michael D'Amico. He defeated Liberal Lib. Maryanne Wells, wife of former federal minister John Munro, by 94 votes (a recount was scheduled

for this week). The Grits retained two eastern Ontario ridings. In the 87th byelection the now easily held Ottawa Centre, where Evelyn Gagnon succeeded former NDP party leader Michael Cassidy, who won the federal seat with the same name in Sept. 4. The by-election left the Tories with 72 seats in the 335-seat legislature, the Liberals with 36 seats (the Sept. 22 reelected Liberal party leader David Peterson insisted that the results showed that "Liberalism is alive and well") But with an election expected next year after the Conservative leadership convention held to replace retiring Premier William Davis Jan. 24-26, some Liberals feared that the party could lose its standing as official opposition to the house. Since the 1985 provincial election, the Liberals have lost five of their 34 seats through by-election losses and one from a defection.

Ending an offshore feud

For a decade Newfoundland and Ottawa wrangled over the ownership of offshore petroleum reserves. But last June three-federal opposition leader Brian Mulroney agreed with Newfoundland Premier Brian Peckford on a compromise deal to share the money from any new oil or gas found. Last week federal Energy Minister Pat Canfield said that pledge on behalf of Prime Minister Mulroney by retitling a draft agreement with her Newfoundland counterpart, William Marshall. The pact will place the management of offshore resources—including the potentially rich Hibernia oilfield—on the hands of a seven-member federal-provincial board, whose members to the board, but details on revenue sharing have yet to be finalized. Marshall hailed the agreement, which will be formally signed next year, as a "testament of Canadian co-operation."

Police pressure tactics



Censay agreement

In an advertisement that appeared in the Montreal Gazette last week, the Montreal Urban Community described the pressure tactics used by its 4,444-member police force as "unacceptable and ungratified." All through the week the city's anti-shoppers police patrolled Montreal streets clad in burlap hood and burlap pants, ignoring traffic violations as part of a consolidated protest against the city's administration of the police pension fund. Then on

Thursday the police showed and put their uniforms on again in response to a deal with city government and had been made between the union and the Quebec government. The Montreal Police Brotherhood said in a statement that the new agreement will end the pension dispute and remove a long-standing obstacle "on which the police were victims for more than five years." Guy Denon, vice-chairman of the city's public security commission, declared that under a new formula the city will increase its contribution to the pension provision by \$10 million annually over a 35-year period. With the memory of a violent 1969 Montreal police strike still vivid, the end of the week-and-a-half-long police protest was widely welcomed by city residents. Quebec Justice Minister Pierre Blais Johnson said that he will table legislation in the national assembly this week to formalize the agreement and resolve the dispute.

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* Computer Week 84, the Office Automation Week, August 1, 1983, p. 40.

† Ibid.

‡ "Office Automation: A New Frontier," Business Week, October 8, 1983, p. 30.

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¶ Editorial for the book of Office Automation.

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DIGITAL EQUIPMENT CORPORATION

Midwestern-born actress **Jessie Ellis**, who claims to be "of indeterminable weight, height and age," was a recurring role as the "slightly overweight" daughter of regular **Christine Pickles** on the popular TV series *St. Elsewhere* by padding her 30-year-old, 105-lb., five-foot, four-inch frame. Said the Los Angeles-based Ellis: "I stuffed my face with towels and wore a large diamond earring to the audience." Admitting the ruse had worked for her before when, as a slim Canadian, she got the part of a fat New Yorker in the series pilot *Shoe of Luck*, Ellis says that she can make herself fit into any part. The three episodes she taped for *St. Elsewhere* will air on NBC in December and January, and the movie *Newsies*, which she made with *Seinfeld* star **Julie Kavner** and **Larry David**, will be released in February. But Ellis is not resting on her padding. During a quick trip to Canada recently she played the role of "a frail, delicate, sweet, young thing" in an episode of *Night Heat*, a series produced by **Robert Longo** for U.S. TV. But, said Ellis: "I really want to do feature films. For a feature, I can be 6'5" if I have to be."

Singers have replaced the moon as the ultimate lover's gift, but the star registration business is now more a Star

Ellis: a fat part and a 'Young Thing'



Star 80 Obvious, a cape in the closet and a strange dream in the desert

War than a low-in for a \$25 fee, her **Dorinda** Toronto-based International Star Registry will make a previously undegraded star, label the name in a computer bank and print the name and the star's location on a certificate for the recipient. But now, five years after Dorinda started operations, Toronto costume designer **Judy Weiss** has set up **Charm Star International Trust of Canada** to provide a stellar service (she sends the recipient an acrylic plaque and her fee is \$399.95). Each company uses a different system, but Weiss claims that Charm is not using any of Dorinda's clients. Dorinda contends that after seeing it "a nice source of income," and she claims to have registered almost 300,000 stars. For her part, Weiss says that because "there was not room for two" profitable star-creating operations in Canada, she has decided to set up Charm as a nonprofit foundation to help "gifted children, astronomical studies and Momma," the international organization of people with kids of 104 or more. Weiss says that he is not worried, and he declared, "I do not mind competition, because it just seems to bubble up and disappear again."

After actress **Helen Slater** showed down for the final time in the new *Superman* movie, she began writing the music and lyrics for *Escape to Obvious*, a rock musical conceived by students at her alma mater, the High School of Performing Arts in New York. Now Obvious is in the desert with Slater's cop, and she is starring in *Star 80*, a teenage drama shot in the desert near Corpus Christi, Tex. Describing her new

role as a "heart of Joan of Arc," New York-based Slater had less to contend with in her part than with the lead in *Superman*, because to play the Kryptonian extraterrestrial she had to exercise for three months. When auditioning for the torn-up older sister in *Star 80*, 30-year-old Slater's concern was that "I was too old."

On a man grateful to be far removed from the crack budget cuts controversy last week was **Peter Herndorf**, former CBC vice-president and currently the publisher of Toronto's *Left* magazine. Herndorf, 44, often named as a probable successor to CBC president **Pierre L'Amour**,

took over as president of the board of the problem-ridden *Birthright* Festival in Ontario on Dec. 8. Strapped also has money problems: an accumulated deficit of \$3.5 million. Said Herndorf: "You cannot have great theatres if you are on the edge of financial collapse. That is what scares me most." Meanwhile, Herndorf was wrestling with difficulties closer to home as he and his wife, Eva, 37, and their daughter, Katherine, 3, were packing to move into their new house near Casa Loma in Toronto. Herndorf said the move helped to "alleviate the gravity of *Birthright*," and added, "It is incredible how those things take over." —**EDMUND BYRON LAMONTAGNE**

Dorinda: a nice source of income.



British miners in disarray

Day and night, a white Chevrolet stands parked on the street outside the modern brick Yorkshire home of one of the nation's strikers, alert to any sign of trouble. The 24-hour vigil is designed to protect Robert Taylor, a coal miner at the nearby Mazon colliery. Ten weeks ago, Taylor, 35, launched a legal crusade against Britain's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) after the striking miners have waged a campaign of intimidation against him. In one incident a car carrying strikers forced Taylor's vehicle off the road. Three other men, including the NUM local's secretary, face charges of threatening to kill him, his wife and two children. The terror tactics have left Taylor deeply embittered. "I'll never forgive the people who threatened to kill my children," he said last week.

It was Taylor's accidental suit against his own union executive that led, earlier this month, to the seizure of the union's national funds by a court-appointed receiver. But Taylor's experience, and those of other trade unionists caught up in the violence of the nine-month-old dispute, now symbolize a grim struggle over the future of the trade union movement itself. Once, the militant vanguard of Britain's freely unionized labor movement, now Taylor attacks union strategy as "a series of mistakes and blunders which have defied the union and returned to work. Increasingly, they fear that when the conflict ends, the strikers will seek to settle old scores in the physically hazardous environment of the coal pits. Said working miner Harold Ellis, 45, whose \$50,000 home was burned by a mob of strikers last month: "You can get police protection. But they'll still be waiting for you in the pit."

In fact, the longest strike in British history has divided the union into extreme separatists and, in Taylor's words, "split the NUM wide open." But the repercussions of the strike spread far beyond the nation's coal-mining communities. By destroying the traditional solidarity of the union, the dispute has created against new problems for Britain's beleaguered Trades Union Congress (TUC), the umbrella labor organization. It has also caused serious secondary damage to the opposition Labour Party. In the past, British unions have relied on unwavering support from Labour. But since August, when peckish law violence first became a national issue, the party has been caught in the



Police arrest coal miner; bitterness and discontentment with marathon strike.

embarrassing embrace of the unruly strikers. In five months Labour's 45-per-cent lead in the polls over the ruling Conservative Party has shriveled into a five-point deficit. Labour has an enormous recovery to make, and Ben Roberts, professor of industrial relations at the London School of Economics, "And without a strong Labour Party, the union will be weaker."

Already the arc of rebellion that the trade union movement is weakening. Membership in TUC-affiliated unions has declined to 9.7 million from 12 million in the past five years, largely as a result of the response. New laws requiring secret strike ballots and banning picketing away from a worker's workplace have drastically eroded unions' bargaining power. Moreover, they have failed to gain a foothold in Britain's emerging high-technology industries. Colored Roberts: "The NUM is confused, weak, pulled apart by its left and right wings."

The future of the divided miners' union may be even bleaker. Roberts, for one, believes that the NUM will cease to be the fulcrum of union militancy, in part because the strike has seriously drained its resources. In Yorkshire alone, whose poststrike coffers were swollen to \$13 million, union executives

have spent \$7.3 million on strike pay and other expenses. Further, Roberts forecasts that union members lost on more local autonomy will erode the national executive's power. That new guard credibility last week when 25,000 Nottinghamshire miners voted to adopt a new constitution allowing them to ignore orders from the union's leadership.

Some trade union defectors denounce such gloomy scenarios. The recession and Britain's 13.4-per-cent unemployment have lowered the union movement's hopes for the cause. Nevertheless, admitted Labour Party energy spokesman Stanley Gane: "But it has the ability to push itself up off the floor," he said. Independent observers counter that, at least for now, the resurrection of trade unionism looks as remote as peace in the conflict. Britain's National Coal Board, the government agency that administers the nation's 134 coal mines, estimates that more than 6,500 employees have quit the industry in the past eight months, the majority in Yorkshire and Lancashire over the strike. Said miner Taylor: "It is impossible to see an end to it all." Likewise, analysts say, it is impossible to see how Britain's embattled Labour Party and the demoralized trade unions can begin to re-pose the damage.

—**DAVID NORTH** in London



Prime Minister Gonzalez: starting changes in style and shifts in policy

SPAIN

Rewriting socialist values

Before his election in 1982 as president of the executive council Spain's prime minister was known simply as "Felipe." Thick-haired, casually dressed, the then-opposition politician was a sharp-tongued scourge of the conservative government. Now a greying 48, Felipe Gonzalez is known to his colleagues as "el toro predevidido" and his words are as carefully measured as his tailored suits. That transformation in style has been paralleled by profound shifts in policy. After Spain joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in May, 1982—five months before the Sandinistas were elected—Gonzalez spoke of pulling out. He also promised centralized planning that would generate thousands of new jobs. But last week, when 769 members of his ruling Socialist party met in Madrid, the message was dramatically different.

In a passionate 90-minute address to the party's 30th congress, Gonzalez argued that withdrawing from NATO would erode Spain's internal security and external credibility. "We can't be constantly changing fronts," he said. And Socialist economic formulas, he added, could not be as and in themselves. Said Gonzalez: "Without economic effectiveness, there can be no social justice."

Gonzalez, the boyish prime minister, is shaking his personal prestige on closing his party's ranks. A recent opinion poll noted that, halfway through his four-year term, 60 per cent of Spanish

voters approve his performance. But a majority of Spain's 10 million voters oppose Spain's limited membership in NATO—it remains independent of the alliance's integrated military command. And resentment is spreading over Gonzalez's failure to keep an election promise to create 800,000 new jobs. Instead, unemployment has climbed by 500,000 and new starts at almost 20 per cent of the work force.

The Gonzalez prescription for Spain's economic ills has been to streamline state-owned industries and to introduce wage restraint. But the cure is slow and uncertain. There are two ways to reach the socialist states, noted Madrid Mayor Enrique Serra Gabies by stairs and by elevator. "But going up the stairs can be so slow that you run the danger of not reaching the top until the structure is about to fall down."

Still, the Gonzalez reforms have boosted Spain's monetary reserves to a record \$30 billion. His challenge now is to persuade a fiercely independent nation that his pragmatic vision of a modernized Spain—including membership in NATO and, a year from now, the European Economic Community—is not an illusion. But there is no clear-cut alternative for Spanish voters. The options and opportunities remain limited. And despite the conflicts behind it, last week's congress, party leaders have acquired a taste for power likely to quell any internal revolt against their president.

—DAVID BAKER in Madrid.

THE UNITED STATES

A rich patron cuts off aid

American scientists contend that they will lose access to international research. Two congressmen have spent a year's delay. And last week a 30-member private citizens' group added its voice to a chorus of appeals against the Reagan administration's plan to leave the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on Dec. 31. But the appeals were unsuccessful. The next Washington will confirm the decision it made a year ago to leave the 361-member aid agency—and withdraw its 26-per-cent contribution to UNESCO's \$487-million annual budget—unless "concrete changes materialize." As Gregory J. Newell, assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs, told a U.S. Senate panel last week, "Those changes have not occurred."

In fact, Newell cited the Carter administration's departure from the International Labor Organization in 1977—and its subsequent return in 1980—in arguing that withdrawal may be the only way to force UNESCO to make what once its supporters concede are overdue reforms. If the United States can renounce itself, said Owen Harries, a former Australian ambassador to UNESCO, it would "create detente and contempt." Harries has said it will follow the U.S. lead and quit UNESCO the required 18-month notice of withdrawal. Other members may take similar action. Canada is also critical of the agency, but will continue to work for reforms from within.

To avert more departures from the Paris-based agency, proposals have been building for the resignation of UNESCO's director-general, Amadou Mahtar M'bow. At last week's Franco-African summit in Bamako, French President Francois Mitterrand urged African leaders to arrange a face-saving exit for the 60-year-old M'bow. His term, critics charge, has been marked by anti-Western bias, waste and inefficiency. At one point, M'bow hired a Washington lobbying firm at \$15,000 a month to polish his agency's image to supporters say that the U.S. action will accelerate a trend toward tying aid to political aims. But Washington is no longer willing to fund programs that undercut its policies. Stopping that action, Washington is now reconsidering its membership in yet another UN body, the Rome-based Food and Agriculture Organization.

—MARC McDONALD in Washington.

NICARAGUA

The Sandinistas' iron glove

When Managua lawyer Roger Garmara Rivas, 35, tried to leave Nicaragua for a seminar in neighboring Costa Rica last month, passport officials stopped him at the airport. "We have superior orders not to let you go," they explained. Garmara was not alone. Microbiologist Andres Zafra has been barred from leaving the country. And last week Pedro Joaquin Chaves, the editor of the nation's only opposition newspaper, *La Prensa*, announced during a visit to Miami that he had been forced to seek refuge in Costa Rica. The pattern of events has led critics to charge that the Sandinistas have launched a campaign of political suppression.

Officially, government spokesmen deny allegations of a crackdown. Some Nicaraguans have been refused exit visas, they concede, because of fears that they would use trips abroad to contact so-called contre-revolutionaries fighting to depose the junta. But its critics, who recently formed a new opposition called Captive Dissidents, maintain that, effectively, the five-year-old regime is veering sharply toward the left.

Conspicuously, released during the campaign for the November elections, has been strictly reworded *La Prensa* is forced to drop 20 to 30 per cent of its stories daily. A government directive issued Nov. 5, five days after the election, banned mention of labor problems, electoral fraud, voting abnormalities or military affairs, except from state spokesmen. *La Prensa* is even forbidden to report that it is being censored. "Under Seneca, we would see a photo of Ann Gardner or Tyrone Power in place of the banned article," said one editor, referring to the censorship of American cinema. Delgado, when the Sandinistas toppled in 1979. "That was everyone knew we had been censored. The Sandinistas have stopped that."

Still, the major objection voiced by some Nicaraguans against Sandinista rule concerns neither censorship nor travel bans, but the politicization of education. Briefing with indignation, one father of a nine-year-old boy recently displayed his son's required Grade 5 text, an illustrated Communist Manifesto. Among drawings of obese bourgeoisie, rugged but noble peasants and priests adorned with swastikas, the text teaches that "no better doctrine has appeared than communism," and points to the Soviet Union and its Eastern Bloc allies as "model nations."

Outside the schools, government control extends into every neighborhood. Sandinista Defense Committees main-

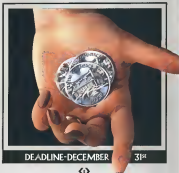
tains the levers of power, including ration cards for food and gasoline, as well as judicial matters. A landlord whose tenant refuses to pay rent can sometimes manage to persuade the court to issue a pay-or-vacate order. But said Jorge Ramirez Acevedo, president of the Nicaraguan Bar Association, "If the problem involves a member of the Sandinista political party, the party always

wins." Independent associations and professional associations still exist, but the junta has set up its own counterpart organizations, ousted competitors aligned with Western labor groups and confiscated private businesses.

The pervasive presence of Sandinista workers or sympathizers has made many Nicaraguans fearful of speaking openly. But at a basketball game outside the capital last week, a young supporter whistled, "It's very bad now. We have nothing." Then, he cringed at his own shout in the universal symbol of handclouts. —BOB SCHAPIRO in Managua.

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BELGIUM

Signs of a warming trend

Publicly, NATO officials stressed that the East-West encounter would amount only to "talks about talks." But among North Atlantic foreign ministers meeting in Brussels last week, the mood prevailing the scheduled rendezvous between U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in Geneva on Jan. 7 and 8 seemed more positive. Shultz managed to convince his colleagues that Washington's approach to renewed dialogue with Moscow would be non-assertive. And the secretary of state pledged that the Western allies would be closely consulted on such issues as what he predicted would be a "long and twisting" road toward improved U.S.-Soviet relations.

Still, the American expert declined to provide details of the position that the United States will take at Geneva. The reason was diplomatically simple: Washington's bargaining leverage was not finished. According to Shultz, President Ronald Reagan is still weighing advice from his aides and from Western allies on how to ensure that the dialogue leads to serious arms reduction talks. At the same time, Washington is not sure of what Gromyko intends to ask on the table next month. "We cannot speculate on the meeting's outcome," Shultz told a press conference following the arrival of the minister plenipotentiary, who will follow it. Maybe a specific form for further negotiations will be set up.

But his reluctance to forecast progress was not shared by other foreign ministers in Brussels. The allies have been using a resumption of talks once the Soviets broke off two sets of negotiations last year on limiting medium-range and strategic missiles. The Kremlin's violent refusal delayed deployment of U.S. cruise and Pershing II nuclear weapons in Europe.

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said he was certain that the Gromyko-Shultz session would result not only in meaningful arms control talks but in the beginning of détente. Canada's Clark also said he was optimistic. Making his first appearance as the NATO's top external affairs minister, Clark described the very absence of firm bargaining positions as a reason for optimism. But just as the Gromyko-Shultz session and Clark are trying to establish a series of high-level contacts with the Warsaw Pact nations, including a Clark visit to Moscow next spring.

—PETER LEWIS in Brussels

GLOBBAL NOTES

Trading the blame



Mengistu's blurring

The statistics reflected the tragedy of famine-stricken Ethiopia. But Oromo officials reported last week that in one relief zone, where 16,000 starving refugees huddled, there were three doctors, six nurses and 38 ground-grinders. While foreign food aid poured in, Western and Ethiopian leaders began a new strife trading blame for the disaster. Berhannu Bayk, head of Ethiopia's Relief Committee, charged that Western nations had shifted development aid that might have averted the present famine. But British and officials have charged that the Marxist government of President Haile Mengistu has delayed delivery of badly needed food aid to the worst-affected areas. There are also doubts that some of Canada's contributions in feeding the neediest. Oromo officials last week launched a probe into unaccounted reports that Canadian grain is being sold on African black markets.

Autopsy on a hijacking

In Washington, the Reagan administration charged that Iran had abetted the hijackers. In Tehran, Iranian government officials blamed "aggressive" U.S. policies for the death of two American diplomats aboard a Kuwait airliner. In the aftermath of the six-day hostage drama, at Tehran's international airport, Iran's handling of the affair last week appeared a diplomatic fiasco. The crisis itself ended Dec. 9, when Iranian security forces, posing as a cleaning crew, overcame four Muslim terrorists and freed the nine remaining passengers. But reactions surrounded the precise role Iran had played. Some observers wondered why the Islamic state had demanded a cleaning crew for a place they had threatened to blow up. The undercover operation, they said, might have been staged to accommodate Tehran. Others noted that its diplomats—three Kuwaitis and three Americans—had been among the passengers, a consideration suggesting that the aircraft had been targeted for piracy. Some hostages even accused the Iranians of direct co-operation with the hijackers. And two surviving Americans, both Iranian and Lebanese, said they saw no signs of Iran's complicity. Then Washington also drew back from earlier accusations, saying it had no evidence that Tehran had been involved. The Iranian authorities refused to provide a full account of the drama. "I declared Prime Minister Mr. Hassan Mostafaei," explains nothing to anyone but God."

Toppling a desert chief

It was more like a palace plot than a coup d'état. But when Mauritania's President Mahammed Khouda Ould Haidalla left his capital of Nouakchott last week to attend a Franco-African summit in Brussels, the country's chief of staff, Col. Aboussa Guel Bouhadi, quietly and bloodlessly assumed power. The probable cause of the coup, Haidalla's recent decision to renounce the self-proclaimed, neighboring Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), which is fighting to gain independence for the Morocco-held former

Spanish territory of Western Sahara. Mauritania itself, a desperately poor West African nation of 1.6 million, once fought an expensive and inconclusive war with the SADR's guerrilla movement, the Polisario Front, but signed a peace treaty in 1979. Since then, Africa's continental rivalry suggests that Mauritania's ruling military council had been split over the renegade issue, with Taya opposing it on grounds that it might invite Moroccan reprisals. But then, a Mauritanian military commander announced that Taya would respect the nation's existing international agreements, including recognition of the SADR. Another commander declared the "armed forces, and, therefore, the national interest," had demanded a change of leadership. For his part, the ousted Haidalla bravely boarded his Casablanca presidential plane and flew home to Nouakchott, where he was promptly arrested.

A disappointing triumph

Just days before his expected landslide victory in this week's general election, Singapore's prime minister, Lee Kuan Yew, confessed to disappointment. The reason: the lack of congressional support for the People's Action Party (PAP), which has ruled the independent republic virtually unopposed for 25 years. In 30 of the 79 ridings, PAP candidates were supposed and were assured of winning by acclamation. "My supporters would have liked a contest," the 61-year-old prime minister said. "I'm a little disappointed." In fact, Singapore's eight rival parties have named only 45 candidates. The reason, observers said, virtually earned Lee of his fifth consecutive electoral sweep. His continuing popularity is based on the island's two decades of dynamic economic growth. With a per-capita income of \$8,000 a year, Singapore is Asia's second wealthiest nation, after Japan. At last, opposition politicians calculated that they might win two or three seats, depending on the youth vote. But the adroit Lee has once again countered that potential threat by bringing several young politicians onto the PAP candidate slate. Among them: Lee's own son, Brigadier Lee Hsien Loong. His nomination, critics charged, lays the foundation for a political dynasty. But as long as the Lee family's policies maintain the island's prosperity, few of its 1.5 million voters seem likely to slip.

The East is still red



More a diversion

Felting watchers often note shifts in Chinese government policies by reading the messages in official language. But when the state-controlled People's Daily ran an editorial on Dec. 12 dealing with the relevance of Marxism, the message was surprisingly blunt: "Use cannot expect Marx's and Lenin's works of their time," the Communist party paper declared, "to solve the problems of today." But that bold repudiation of Marxism's foundations was evidently too great a leap forward. In a rare front-page correction, the newspaper said last week that the offending sentence should have read: "to solve our problems of today." The amendment signalled that China's leader, Deng Xiaoping, remains committed to building a market economy, but it is a step that will not ease the load of political upheaval that his planned Communist China is the past.



Soviet anti-aircraft missiles in Kabul prospering for guerrilla attacks on the 10th anniversary of Soviet intervention

COVER

Slow death in Afghanistan

By Rides Laver

The village of Stogean, on the steep southern slopes of the Hindu Kush mountains, is like countless others in Afghanistan: a semi-peaceful farming community now lying in ruins. In 1986, waves of bombs and rocket raids by Soviet MiG jets and helicopters forced Stogean's 120 families to abandon their crumbling mud houses and join a tide of refugees spilling east into Pakistan. Then, last September a few dozen villagers returned to Stogean's levelled streets, determined to make a fresh start. But despite the village's lack of strategic or tactical significance, the Soviet rocket attacks resumed, and once more the war-weary refugees packed up and fled. Now, no one lives in the village—one of hundreds of ghost towns that haunt witnesses to the Soviet Union's policy of terror against Afghan civilians. Five years after the Soviets invaded, ostensibly at the request of the faltering left-wing regime of then-president Hafizullah Amin, the

village has displaced an estimated four million Afghans out of a prewar population of 16 villages.

In strictly military terms, the war is stalemate: an estimated 115,000 Red Army troops occupy most of the urban centers but they have failed to root out the rebel Mojaheddin (Islamic holy warriors) who still control 80 per cent of the countryside. Still, the Soviets have not allowed their lack of success in battle to frustrate their goal of subjugating a strategically vital neighbor. Instead, in their first military campaign outside the Iron Curtain, Soviet troops—backed by the Afghan army's own 20,000 regulars—direct their fire not only at the rebels but at the Afghan people as a whole. Entire villages have been razed, crops burned and livestock killed by destroying the infrastructure of Afghanistan. Moscow seems to be planning to eliminate the guerrilla's means of support in order to starve them into submission. Conceded on Afghan television: "The war has been decided by itself now, but we are beginning to lose the population. If this continues we may

eventually lose the war because there will be nowhere for the Mojaheddin to hide."

Bombings. Last week the consequences of what Moscow's enemies describe as its "military genocide" became clearer with the profusion by a respected Parris-based medical group that as many as 800,000 Afghans face starvation this winter. Said Dr. Claude Malverne, president of Malverne Sans Frontiers (Doctors without Borders), which has sent teams of medicals to the war zone: "Our people can see this expanding famine in current maps in the dramatic increases in the cost of food, up 70 per cent in the past few weeks; in the fact that guerrillas who once asked for money to buy arms are now pleading for food, and in the noticeable increase in the flight of refugees toward the Pakistani border."

Malverne added that drought and bad weather have contributed to food shortages in the western province of Herat, near Iran and in the northeastern province of Badkhash near the Soviet border. As well, widespread Soviet bombing



Refugee nursing wounds during the winter, pleading for food; Afghanistan is lost

has destroyed harvests, irrigation canals and food stocks. "It is all part of the deliberate Soviet plan to 'empty the fields'" by clearing out the local populations," Malverne said. In Herat the attacks were so persistent that villagers could only work the fields at night. Recalled one refugee who witnessed the air raids: "The Russian soldiers told us either to get out to Pakistan or to come to Kabul [the capital]."

Juggernaut. In retaliation, the guerrillas are stepping up attacks on Soviet bases in and around the capital. Last week Moscow diplomats in Pakistan reported that Soviet and Afghan troops were digging fresh trenches in eastern and western Kabul in preparation for expected guerrilla attacks marking the fifth anniversary of Moscow's intervention on Dec. 22. As well, three new Soviet 100-51 rocket launchers were installed at Kabul airport to counteract the rebels' recent acquisition of 107-mm Chinese rockets. The preparations seemed only two weeks after insurgents reportedly shot down a Soviet transport plane eight kilometres outside Kabul, killing all eight crew members. Another four people died—and 85 were wounded—on Nov. 25, when rebel rockets slammed into the Qabul Zaxan Khan section of the capital, adjacent to a complex housing government ministers, ruling party officials and Soviet advisers. The blast was also reported by Soviet television, indicating that the damage may have

been much greater than reported. But the reports of fighting and of casualties rarely receive formal confirmation. Indeed, for the most part, the Afghan war has been characterized by a chronic lack of information. Shortly after the Soviet juggernaut rolled into Kabul—setting the stage for the overthrow and execution of President Amin and his replacement by another pro-Soviet, Babrak Karmal, 35—all foreign correspondents were ordered out of the country. The few unswerving accounts that leak out are usually compiled by Western correspondents illicitly crossing the border on foot from Pakistan, usually by joining up with supply caravans on their way to guerrilla bases high in the Hindu Kush mountains (page 29). Other reports filter out from Western diplomats in Kabul, whose information is sketchy and often speculative.

Still, it is generally agreed that the war has drained or more than 1,500 Soviet troops. In addition, a Pentagon source told Malverne that the Red Army has consumed perhaps 50,000 vehicles, ranging from tank wrecks to secret limos. Moreover, according to

Anticipation. Even at these levels, the rebels cannot hold out indefinitely. For one thing, an estimated 10 to 15 per cent of U.S.-funded anti-Soviet forces never reached the guerrillas. Instead, they were captured or by Pakistani authorities and shadow mullahism or sold again by corrupt representatives of the resistance groups based in Peshawar, the major Pakistani rebel base. Explained a U.S. intelligence source: "There is always a market for arms in that part of the world." At the same time, the Pentagon refuses to supply the Mojaheddin with new U.S.-made weapons in case they are captured by the Soviets and used as evidence of U.S. involvement. As a result, many rebels operate with antiquated equipment, including British .303-calibre 800 rounds of the type used in two world wars.

The CIA also feeds the rebels a steady supply of Soviet-designed Kalashnikov rifles, but their ineffectiveness at long range means that they are of little value in guerrilla warfare.

The most glaring deficiency, however, is a lack of effective anti-aircraft weapons. According to

Karmal: heady by war



Senate committee testimony, as much as 30 per cent of all Soviet combat and logistics operations depend on aircraft or heavily armored helicopter gunships. But because of Washington's refusal to supply sophisticated U.S. weaponry, the guerrillas are often left to defend themselves with old Soviet-made ground-attack SAMs, which are less effective than Western shoulder-fired missiles. "Eventually," said David Dodd, a military adviser to the Federation for American Afghan Airmen in Washington, "the guerrillas will fail. No resistance group can carry on indefinitely without adequate aid. The fighters will

be pushed speaking tribes in southern Afghanistan. NPA rejects Gulbuddin as a fascist who would drag Afghanistan back into the Middle Ages. For his part, Gulbuddin considers Gulistan to be a fascist and a CIA puppet. Reclaimed Anthony Arnold, a former U.S. intelligence analyst in Kabul and now a specialist in Afghan politics at the Hoover Institution in San Francisco. "Every year the Afghan war. Afghanistan is made up of 30,000 village states, and they all feud against each other and about each other with great enthusiasm."

To complicate matters still further, there are also clashes between the majority Pashtun Moslem population and the pro-Iranian Shi'ites in central and east-

ern Afghanistan. A former engineering student at Kabul's Soviet Polytechnic, the soft-spoken Massoud has emerged as one of the most influential Mujahideen leaders. On several occasions his 10,000 men have repelled the northward forces of the Soviet and Afghan armies. At one point in late 1985, Massoud even defeated Meo and a substantial force—numbered to be about 3,000-500—in a six-month truce. He accepted the offer, then used the ceasefire probably to reinforce his guerrillas' strength, setting aside food supplies and training new guerrillas.

Assassination? When the truce ended last April, the Soviets unleashed the full fury of their military might on the Pas-



Amphib: Mujahideen attack Soviet troop columns; the day-long fall for the Red Army: 7,000 dead, 40,000 wounded

here out. With the present levels of aid I think they can last another five years." An administration official put it even more bluntly: "Afghanistan is lost. All we can do is make the Russians pay by keeping the guerrillas going."

Secession: The rebel groups themselves are deeply divided along religious and tribal lines. At least seven different guerrilla factions operate within Afghanistan, loosely grouped into two alliances. In one camp are the Islamic fundamentalists represented by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, 38, an uncompromising anti-Westerner who leads the Hezb-e-Islami (Islamic Party), and Borhanuddin Rabbani, 61, of Jamiat-i-Islami (Islamic Organization). Even as allies, however, the two in-camps have frequently clashed in struggles for local power. The other major alliance consists mainly of more secular, tribally based groups such as the National Islamic Front for Afghanistan led by Sayed Ahmad Ghalani, a religious community leader from

northern Afghanistan. A British doctor who recently accompanied a band of Jamiat guerrillas reported that after one such fight he treated eight to ten men for bullet wounds. He added: "They felt my responsibility was to them and they resented me giving medicines to other people."

Even so, there are periodic stirrings of hope among anti-Soviets that the rebels may rally around a strong central leader. Frustrated by the guerrillas' disunity, a delegation of moderate Afghans visited Italy last year hoping to engineer the political comeback of exiled King Mohammed Zahir Shah, 70 who has lived in Rome since being deposed in a 1973 coup. But the intelligence won collapsed. Many Afghans dislike the aging former monarch, whom they remember as a despot and unhelpful leader.

Since then, speculation has centered mainly on Ahmed Shah Massoud, 35, a resistance commander in the rugged Panjshir Valley, which contains the

able guerrillas. In two separate offensives this year the Soviets launched ground and air attacks to which high-level carpet bombing gave way to ground attacks by helicopter-borne commandos. But each time Massoud's men withstood the assault, pulling back temporarily to safer positions and evacuating civilians. The Soviets were equally unsuccessful in two apparent assassination attempts on the rebel leader this year, even though both efforts were followed by Khabal Radio claims that he was dead. Said Massoud: "Every time they try to proclaim our defeat and a month later are themselves taking heavy casualties again, our reputation increases. We should thank them for this."

Faced with stubborn resistance, the Soviets have settled in for a long and costly occupation. For all of its brutality, the Afghanistan war is very much a seasonal conflict. Every year the Red Army launches its "summer offensive."

Each autumn the fighting dies down as both sides withdraw for the long, snowy Afghan winter. A British doctor who spent the winter in the north said the war was supposed to find large expanses of the country still untouched by war. Said Dr. Kenneth Grant: "I travelled around for nearly four weeks and never saw a Russian. I think their main aim at the present time is to fall back and regroup."

Still, the Soviets have gradually tightened their grip. After repelling many of the same mistakes made by the Americans in Vietnam, the Soviets have adapted a new strategy that borrows heavily from the British. India an aggressive model. The country has been divided into seven military districts, each headed by a Soviet general with an array of modern firepower and sophisticated warplanes, including MiG-23 fighters. During lulls in fighting, the Soviets concentrate on building concrete forts that serve as safe havens for the troops, as well as new roads and bridges to improve mobility. Two new airfields are also under construction near the Iranian and Pakistani borders, an action that would increase Moscow's ability to launch air strikes in the Persian Gulf if the conflict there should widen.

Invasion: Even now, Western analysts are uncertain about Soviet motives for invading Afghanistan, which in the 19th century served as a buffer between imperial Russia and the British raj. One interpretation is that the Soviet incursion was simply the latest manifestation of Moscow's historic path to secure a warm-water port on the Indian Ocean, by way of landlocked Afghanistan. But other analysts argue that the Kremlin was alarmed by the rapid spread of Islamic fundamentalism and that the invasion was intended to forestall the ascension of largely Moslem Soviet Central Asia.

At the same time, the Soviets feared that the outbreak of civil war in Afghanistan could lead to a pro-Western government in Kabul. "If yes look at the map from their point of view," said John Erickson, director of defense studies at Edinburgh University. "From Norway right round to Yakushima (Japan) an iron ring had been closing in on them. The new gap was Afghanistan. If that closed they were completely cut off. For his part, Soviet University lecturer Peter Shorshakov, a British expert on Soviet foreign policy, said that even now the Soviets would be satisfied with a neutralist government in Kabul. He added: "I do not think Afghanistan should be sent in the same way as Czechoslovakia or Poland. I think they have realized that it was a rather gross error moving in to the first place. But, like the Americans in Vietnam, they want to save face. They're not going to pull out overnight."

Apart from that obvious parallel, an-

alysts see few similarities between the Afghanistan war and the U.S. experience in Vietnam. The Kremlin's supply lines to Kabul are much shorter, making the war more manageable from a military standpoint. More important, unlike the Americans, the Soviets do not have to fear a ground swell of adverse public opinion at home. The Soviets exercise strict control over domestic reporting of the war. References to Soviet casualties are invariably brief. They are usually

given their news with Western correspondents, none are prepared to give their full names. Said Sergei, 38, a teacher in northern Garmian doing military call-up next year: "I hope they do not send me to Afghanistan. I do not understand all that is going on there, but I just want my military service done in safety to get home to my wife and daughter." A Moscow office clerk, Boris, 30, said he asked an associate in the Moscow Regional Committee to ensure



Moscow: using Soviet bribes to train new guerrillas and buy food

accompanied by reports of the "worldwide" condemnation of the "Soviet" aggression," substantiated by quotations from the Communist press of Cuba, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, and other Soviet bloc nations.

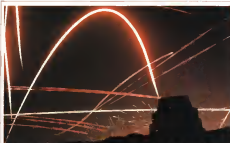
Safety: But the lack of hard information on the war cannot hide reality from the hundreds of black-shirted women who visit Moscow communities each Sunday to weep on their sons' graves. "Our Nayya—[died in the hills of Afghanistan]," one tombstone was seen in the war-torn northeast. Soviet officials display a general lack of interest about the war, mixed with a desire to end personal involvement. And although many are willing to dis-

miss their news with Western correspondents, none are prepared to give their full names. Said Sergei, 38, a teacher in northern Garmian doing military call-up next year: "I hope they do not send me to Afghanistan. I do not understand all that is going on there, but I just want my military service done in safety to get home to my wife and daughter." A Moscow office clerk, Boris, 30, said he asked an associate in the Moscow Regional Committee to ensure

his son was posted near the Soviet capital rather than risk a tour of duty in Afghanistan. But a 40-year-old office worker, Galina, expressed a more common sentiment. "Of course there are casualties but we cannot let the Americans have their way everywhere. The Afghans asked us to come and we went here." Across the open border from Afghanistan, nervous Pakistanis worry that Soviet ambitions might not end at the Khyber Pass. Recently, air raids over Pakistan have intensified as Soviet-backed Afghan forces advance what they claim is their right of "hot pursuit" of Pakistani-based guerrillas. By raising the threat of a wider conflict, the Soviets also hope to

He supports rebels





Mujaheddin attack on a position near Kabul resisting against attempts to 'empty the hallow'

COVER

corne Pakistani President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq into withdrawing support for the rebels. But Zia, a military dictator whose continuing support for the rebels has cemented his country's close ties to the Reagan administration, has so far stood firm with his Islamic brothers.

How long Zia can maintain that stance will depend, in part, on his ability to calm Pakistan's growing internal resentment over the influx of Afghan refugees. Already Pakistan's northern border areas are host to almost three million homeless persons and Mujaheddin spread over dozens of crowded and unsanitary refugee camps. And despite the government's strong support for their cause, an increasing number of Pakistanis are blaming the Afghans for everything from unemployment to drug abuse and high crime rates.

In Herat, a town 30 km north of Kandahar where more than 150,000 refugees live in a sprawling camp, government authorities had to step in last month to try to stop the spread of rumors that Afghan thugs were kidnapping young Pakistani girls and selling them as slaves to border tribesmen. Many of the country's banned opposition parties are also aware that if they ever come to power, they will severely restrict the refugees' freedom of movement or push them back over the border. Said one opposition spokesman: "The Afghan refugees would be campaign topic number 1 here if the elections were really free—and almost everyone but Zia would be against them."

Violations: Last week Pakistan protested to Kabul over an alleged four-kilometer penetration by two Afghan

quickly that they rarely have time to scramble to intercept them.

At times, Zia's government has tried to negotiate a political solution to the war. But the talks have always faltered. For their part, the Soviets seem to be gambling that the forced exodus of Afghan peasants—coupled with large-scale industrialization programs for those who stay behind—will ensure that Afghan-Afghan tensions are more pliable than the current one. Last month the Karelin government reportedly sent about 600 Afghan children aged 7 to 9 to Soviet Central Asia for at least 10 years of Communist "retraining."

Said one Kabul diplomat who said he was confident that nothing short of a decade of Sovietization inside the Soviet Union was likely to make a dent on them. "That, and a brutal military occupation that so far shows no sign of letting up."

With Alex Brodie in Islamabad, Richard D. Evans in Kabul, Afghanistan, William Leather in Washington, Heather Marshall and Brian Jensen in Paris, and David North in London.

Refugee children at a Peshawar school: unsanitary conditions and blizzards.



COVER

The unholy impact in a holy war

By Richard M. Evans

In the cold ascent of the mountain, Uzbek suddenly belted Uzbek, the white pony I had bought a few days earlier from a one-horse owner, was bounding and his legs trembled. On fact, I led the pony over the next summit trail. But for my Mujaheddin escort, it was routine run—a week-long, 300-km trek from the Pakistan border to the Wazir Shah camp into the heart of Afghanistan by Afghan standards our caravan of mules, packs, land mines and ammunition was a simple affair: six armed guerrillas, four donkeys, two horses, one mule, Uzbek and me.

Our leader, Nekh Mahomet, had made the round trip four times in the past three months, crossing the five mountain and three rugged plains that separate Miran Shah from our remote destination at Jughla, the military headquarters of Mujahed commander Aziz Wardah. One night, as I prepared for his evening prayer, Mahomet handed me his Kalashnikov automatic rifle instinctively, my eyes turned apprehensively toward the near desert sky. "Helicopters. No, no," Mahomet assured me. "Helicopters, don't worry. Then, his wisened 45-year-old face broke into a beaming grin. "Mujaheddin," he said with simple pride, tapping his index finger against his chest as one of the Islamic holy warriors.

Times in truth, pride and riffs are inadequate weapons against the Soviet Red Army. On the high, exposed plains, any passing caravan looks suspicious. From belonging guerrillas. When the sky patrols appeared I covered myself with brown and grey blankets, tried very hard to resemble a rock—and prayed.

I had been planning the trip for months, to observe the five-year-old civil war at first hand. The Paris office of the National Institute of Afghanistan put me in touch with envoys in Pakistan, and after three tense days in

Peshawar—rarely more than 50 km from the Soviet border—was on my way.

The supply lines maintained by caravan leaders like Mahomet are vital to Afghanistan's jihad or holy war, against Soviet occupation. Although arms and ammunition are often captured from Soviet and Afghan government troops, more must be smuggled in, usually via Pakistan. Medicine, clothing and gasoline for the few Mujaheddin

passed within a few kilometers of the regional Soviet military headquarters at Khost, where an estimated 5,000 Soviet soldiers are bivouacked. The speed of helicopter attacks and the steady orange light of flares lit the night sky, but we passed unscathed. Reaching Afghanistan's 1,800-km border with Pakistan would require a huge military effort. Hundreds of dirt roads and mountain trails cross the frontier, many accessible only by foot or on horseback. The Mujaheddin are masters of such terrain. They stalk Soviet patrols at their most vulnerable moments—ranged in single file along a narrow mountain pass—then rush back into the hills.

Scarcity: Still, travel in the interior is increasingly difficult. The rural population is decreasing, lowering the support for the Mujaheddin. On the plain of Paktia, known locally as Barast, I passed through villages after villages where not a single living soul remained. Before the Soviet invasion Barast had been a thriving collection of farming villages surrounded by well-irrigated land and inhabited by half a million people. Now, an estimated 90 per cent of the former population has vanished—either killed or moved to refugee camps in Pakistan. Bombings have

been limited to rubble. Irrigation canals are closed with debris. An eerie silence hangs in the countryside. At one house, a young farmer, Mohammed Owar, offered us a breakfast of rice, or unleavened bread, and tea—and a graphic account of the war's impact. Before 1979 he had produced hundreds of bushels of wheat and rice each year, owned 100 sheep and 30 cows, and he lived hands to help with the harvest. Many animals have since been strangled to death by Soviet jets. Now, with his wife and three children in a Pakistani refugee camp, Owar works his fields by night to avoid Soviet air strikes. "I will stay here until Afghanistan is once



Marshall: using food and schools as weapons against invaders

again been bombed to rubble. Irrigation canals are closed with debris. An eerie silence hangs in the countryside. At one house, a young farmer, Mohammed Owar, offered us a breakfast of rice, or unleavened bread, and tea—and a graphic account of the war's impact. Before 1979 he had produced hundreds of bushels of wheat and rice each year, owned 100 sheep and 30 cows, and he lived hands to help with the harvest. Many animals have since been strangled to death by Soviet jets. Now, with his wife and three children in a Pakistani refugee camp, Owar works his fields by night to avoid Soviet air strikes. "I will stay here until Afghanistan is once

again free," he said. "But many of the others have gone away."

Originally skeptical about Soviet tactics of "migratory genocide," I now rush to support these claims. I traveled through four Afghan provinces—Kabul, Lagar, Wardak and Ghazni. Everywhere people told the same stories: desert, conflagration, farm animals shot, crops burned. Our marauding soldiers had trouble finding food, lodging and fodder. At one road-widened stone bridge (see below), we were charged 500 Afghani (about \$35) for tea and were Nick Mahomet presented, but finally paid. Otherwise, he knew, he might find no food at all the next time he passed.

Seedies. At the end of our week-long march we reached Auntie Wardak's house at Jagtha. Wardak, 34, well over six feet tall, with a full, black beard, calls to mind a young Fidel Castro, an impression enhanced by his olive-green battle fatigues. Studying law at Kabul University when the Soviets invaded, he returned to his native Wardak province and now commands some 5,000 men. "In all cases there must be military, political and civil organization," Wardak told me during a late-night interview in his mountainous residence. He spoke Pashto. "I'll have all of these, then we can beat the Russians. If not, we'll never win. I believe that the civilian infrastructure is the most important of all. Only this can prevent our people from running away."

To show the roads to Pakistan, Wardak has set up permanent medical clinics with French doctors, established 39 primary schools and started a food relief program. He declared, "It is more useful to build a school than to blow up a tank." The effort is paying off. Only



Soviet bombing: civilians killed; villages razed; famine in the country

about 100 families have left the province for Pakistan since December, 1979, far fewer than in neighboring provinces.

Obviously, Wardak's command has joined other guerrillas in co-ordinated attacks and successful attacks on the Soviet airbase at Ghazni. Situated on the only real Afghan highway, between Kabul and the southern city of Kandahar, Ghazni is a vital link for Soviet transport. Most of the city was destroyed last winter. Its western sector is a ghost town; its homes bombed-out shells, its streets peppermarked with craters. "Ghazni has become a point of honor for us," Wardak said. "The killing of women and children can not go unpunished. We plan to go on attacking them. And I'll take a hundred journalists to

Ghazni if that is what I must do to show the world what has happened."

But Wardak receives few intelligence reports. Operatives are limited to rusty night-vision binoculars. "It should be obvious to everyone what the Russians are doing," said Abdul Ghafer, acting administrator of the National Islamic Front. "There are five million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran and another million internal refugees. Moscow wants Afghanistan even if there are no more Afghans left living in it."

Aggravation. Already, according to French doctors, the mortality rate during the first five years of life is approaching 50 per cent—twice the 1979 rate. Malnutrition is rampant, diseases on the rise. "At this time," said Dr. Philippe Trane, organizer of an immunization program in Wardak province, "in 10 years there will not be anyone left to fight the Russians."

Aside from French medical teams and representatives of other small European aid groups, little help reaches the guerrillas. Large organizations, such as the Red Cross, concentrate relief efforts on the refugee camps in Pakistan. That focus only aggravates the guerrilla cause. "If everything is so much better in the camps," said one of my escorts as we set out on our return trip, "more people will leave their homes."

When we left Jagtha, winter was already setting in. The leaves had dropped from the trees, and the nights were bitterly cold. The trails were deserted. Tens of thousands had fled. In the spring some would return to their villages and farms. But many others had already made that hard and dangerous journey for the last time. —Richard M. Roosa is a Paris-based journalist.



Greening summer's boys

They broke out champagne in the Big Apple and old scores of fans in New York City knew who was coming to town—all-star pitcher Gary Carter. But Montreal Expos fans searched for clues about the exploits, if any, of Heron Winstanley and Floyd Youmans. In one of the most dramatic trades in major-league baseball's recent history, the New York Mets acquired Carter, for 10 years the heart of the Expos, and in return gave the struggling Montreal team Hubie Brooks, a third baseman converted to a shortstop, Mike Fitzgerald, a backup catcher, talented center fielder Winstanley, and pitcher prospect Youmans. As Mets fans' thoughts turned to the World Series, Expos fans wondered again what had become of "the team of the 1980s."

The Mets-Expos deal is merely symptomatic of a critical problem facing major-league baseball. Fewer and fewer teams can carry the superstars and their megadollar contracts. Said Montreal Expos general manager Morrie Cook: "There are only a handful of teams in baseball who could afford to make like [Carter] do." They are located in Atlanta, Chicago and New York. From the perspective of management and ownership, the tendency toward huge contracts is disastrous. "You can't live a person."

Consequently, several franchises are determined to protect Cook. Wrong: Before the Carter deal the New York Yankees acquired Oakland outfielder Rickey Henderson—baseball's best base stealer—also for a handful of young players. Earlier, the Atlanta Braves signed the game's premiere relief pitcher, Bruce Sutter. And at week's end the Chicago Cubs signed Cy Young award-winning pitcher Rick Sutcliffe.

The common thread—and threat to the game—is the staggering salaries involved in the deals. The Expos, who last year made \$3 million last season, paid Carter \$1,871,426 (11.5) a year. The Oakland A's could not afford the \$6.75 million over five years that Henderson will now cost the Yankees. Sutcliffe's five-year contract is for \$8.8 million. The Baltimore Orioles also signed free agent Brad Lynn for \$5.8 million over five years, Lee Lacy for \$2.2 million over two years and Don Aase for \$2.25 million over four years. And when Braves owner Bobby Tompkins said he would consider \$10 million to sign Tom Seaver, he was not kidding. Seaver signed for \$10,175,000 over six years plus a signing bonus of \$1,375,000, other owners estimated him to be an 11-to-1 vote.



Carter few say afford the superstars

Observed Cook: "Money doesn't motivate, it detracts from performance. It is the desire that motivates. Long-term contracts are the bane of the industry." After the Oakland A's traded their only superstar, Henderson, team president Roy Rennebarger said, "It has gotten to the point that any team in the major advertising markets out other players like Henderson."

The Mets are not convinced. Carter joins a team in which outfielder George Foster makes \$2 million per year and first baseman Keith Hernandez earns \$1.6 million. The Mets general manager called the Carter trade "a bummer day for the New York Mets."

Less dramatically, the Toronto Blue Jays traded part-timer shortstop Albedo Griffin and part-time outfielder Dave Collins to the Oakland A's for relief pitcher Bill Caudill. And while baseball fans in Oakland's two major-league cities were still discussing their town's deal, new Expos Brooks sought a doubling of his \$300,000 salary and Caudill put his value to the Jays at about \$1 million per season. Last season, big-league baseball's average salary was \$250,448—a \$10-per-cent increase from 1978 when the average was \$215,684. Big-league baseball can only hope that the pace of increases is not too much for the markets to bear. —HARVEY ARONSON with Bruce Wallace in Montreal.

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Bhopal plant: modern ambulance chasers moving into the scene where thousands died or were disabled

BUSINESS/ECONOMY

Aftermath of a poison cloud

By Ian Austen

When he entered the grief-stricken area around Bhopal last week in the wake of India's poison gas disaster, American lawyer Melvin Belli was an incongruous presence, dressed in a black suit with a red lining, alligator-skin boots and a polka-dot tie, he strolled among the thousands of suffering survivors and the grieving relatives of about 3,000 people who died during the recent industrial disaster in history. But he had personal reasons for wanting to be in the area where tragedy struck on Dec. 3, when poison gas swept out of Union Carbide India Ltd.'s insecticide plant. The bulky erli litigation lawyer had travelled from his San Francisco base—along with other U.S. attorneys—to boost about his latest, and potentially most lucrative, case. Declared the lawyer: "We'll knock the stuffing out of them. There is no doubt we will win, for Union Carbide has absolute liability."

Belli has launched a \$185-million suit against the chemical company's U.S. parent in a West Virginia court. And he is outspoken about his motivation.

"These people in India are nobodies. Here you sit in a hotel living in a railroad stink box going to see your wife and child dead. Now Union Carbide has the effrontery to offer a \$—g orphanage and a million dollars. It is a monstrous gas!"

The charges against Union Carbide Corp.—it owes 50.9 per cent of the Indian company—remain to be tested. And not even Belli, at the other U.S.-based attorneys who descended on Bhopal last week, would deny that the massive tragedy poses major problems for the 50-year-old multinational. Indeed, Wall Street, apparently jittery about the enormous potential that lawsuits could force Union Carbide into bankruptcy, has created a billion-dollar paper loss by driving down the price of Union Carbide stock about 10% share since the choking cloud of methyl isocyanate gas passed over Bhopal. Union Carbide

chairman Warren Anderson, whom Indian authorities arrested and later released last week, said the disaster will leave the company with a "unique five years to come."

Indeed, most of Union Carbide—best known to North Americans consumers for the market-leading Glad trash bags, Eveready batteries and Presto coffee-makers—provided surviving residents of Bhopal. Last week the survivors began to flee the city—located about 300 km south of New Delhi—for the second time in as many weeks during the railway strike, bus depot and roads, about 200,000 people—nearly one quarter of the city's population—not out for special refuge camps or relative's homes, leaving the area around the plant a virtual ghost town. The reason for the flight, an Indian government plan to relocate the area-year-old plant's remaining 15-ton inventory of deadly

Anderson: Bhopal stays



methyl isocyanate gas by converting it into inert solids. Planning for the operation was extensive. When the temporary operations resumed, helicopters sprayed a protective mist of water over the complex, which has been screened off from public view. But few residents appeared willing to believe the government's assertion that their exodus was unnecessary. In the sweltering heat of the hot terminal, N.K. Shukla, a government clerk, waited with few members of his family for transportation to a city 120 km to the north. Sudh Shukla, "I live in an affected area, only three kilometers from the plant. About 40 per cent of the people from that area have gone. They're dead, look at my small children. How can I let them stay here?"

In Durgam, Conn., at Union Carbide's banker's headquarters, flags were raised from half-mast after six days of sporadic mourning for the victims of the toxic leak. The multinational's management—aided by outside crisis-management experts—reviewed the corporation's complicated situation. Publicly, at least, the company remained optimistic. Insulated spokesman Jackson Brownings: "The financial structure of Union Carbide Corp is not threatened in any way."

Still, the history of the Colorado-based Maxwell Corp., hounded Union Carbide's executive planning sessions. Faced with \$1.9 billion in lawsuits arising out of asbestos-related deaths and disabilities, Maxwell, producer of the fire-resistant material, declared bankruptcy in 1989. The firm hoped that the move would enable the company to reorganize without the menace of staggering lawsuits. Maxwell's operations, however, despite the bankruptcy, but the ultimate fate of the company—and the lawsuit—is still to be decided.

While stock analysts do not share Union Carbide's optimism about the future, they are not as pessimistic as some Wall Street traders. Said James Hoyer of Philadelphia-based J.P. Morgan & Co.: "Bankruptcy is possible if a whole lot more goes wrong, but I don't see that happening." Hoyer argues that there is one key difference in Union Carbide's legal battle from those that Maxwell Corp. rate bankruptcy. U.S. courts have already determined

that Maxwell was aware of the health hazards of its product, but did little to protect users and employees.

Although inspectors from Union Carbide's headquarters declared that the Bhopal operation's safety systems were below U.S. standards in a 1982 report, Hoyer argues that it will be a long and difficult legal process to prove that the company failed to correct the problems. If those efforts are not successful, Carbide would then likely only be liable for human or mechanical error—and not other forms of negligence.

For their part, the lawyers arriving in Bhopal left no doubt about the scope of their assault on the third-largest U.S.

had a \$85-billion suit in New York last week on behalf of four plaintiffs whom the firm had been unable to locate.

Whatever the recruiting methods, the U.S. lawyers are, without exception, seeking permission to recover losses courts in the United States that they should bear their clients' cases. One reason is that Indian courts follow British common law procedures. As a result, noted Frank Girard, a professor of litigation at the Columbia University Law School in New York, damages are generally determined by multiplying the salary of a disabled or oval person by the number of work years the victim had remaining. With the average Indian



Bhopal mayor Deep Chandel (center) with lawyers for Gould and Sawyer (incongruous)

based chemical company. Said John Gault of the Washington, D.C.-based Gault and Associates: "Get Union Carbide's the slogan." Gault, who recently lost a prolonged court battle that sought compensation for the hostages held in the Iranian takeover of the former U.S. Embassy in Tehran, is among the growing number of lawyers who filed lawsuits in the United States seeking at least \$150 million from Union Carbide.

Coal, accompanied by another American and two Indian lawyers, claimed to have gathered signatures authorizing him to represent 20,000 victims in the shem areas surrounding the plant. Other U.S. lawyers, acting on information provided by relatives of victims living in the United States, have filed claims on behalf of plaintiffs they have not yet met, and who have not yet signed authorizations to be represented. Indeed, the California-based firm of Gould and Sawyer

suave of about \$250 a year, a victim with 50 years left before retirement could only expect a \$7,500 settlement. U.S. courts, on the other hand, allow so-called punitive damages, which can dramatically exceed a victim's actual losses.

But Gault and his colleagues also stand to gain greater benefits themselves if U.S. courts agree to hear their cases. Lawyers in India are not allowed to take cases on a contingency basis—in effect for a commission—as U.S. lawyers are. That means that Gault, Belli and the others are proposing not to charge clients for their services—in exchange for a guarantee of one-third of any eventual settlement. In addition, since 1968 U.S. courts have permitted a number of related lawsuits against a single defendant to be grouped into a single so-called class action, enabling collaboration on large class cases. Despite the flamboyance and large



Stout and David Leathers' "Connoisseurs' Choice" (left) Gallery, Rome

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staffs, the U.S. lawyers will likely find it difficult persuading a U.S. court to hear their complaints about all of the witnesses and plaintiffs in the auto recalls in India. In the past, U.S. courts have held that the prospect of obtaining a higher level of damages does not justify the expense and bother of bringing witnesses from abroad. That was the finding in a recent landmark decision by the U.S. Supreme Court involving a U.S.-built airplane which crashed in Scotland. It ruled that the action should be handled by the Scottish court system. Willis Reese, a Columbia University Law School specialist in international law, also notes that U.S. legal precedent, unlike in Britain, does not become constitutional law, and the possibility of reversing past rulings thus remains open.

Whatever route the court actions take, Union Carbide's Anderson already acknowledges that his corporation will have to reach some form of settlement with the victims. To date, the company has donated \$2.5 million to a special relief fund for disabled survivors of the tragedy and offered to set up a home for orphaned children. But Anderson refuses to speculate on how much the disaster will eventually cost the firm. In any case, it is unlikely that insurance will cover much of the settlement costs. While the company will not disclose the level of its insurance coverage, official reports last week indicated that it is within a range of \$250 to \$300 million for the kind of liability caused at Bhopal.

The disaster struck at a time when many of Union Carbide's key operations—particularly those relating to chemicals and supplies for the aging U.S. steel industry—were in a slump. Last year the firm had sales of \$1.1 billion and controlled worldwide assets worth \$18.4 billion. But stock analyst Meyer says that given the long period of time any action will be before the courts, even a settlement costing Union Carbide \$1 billion would be manageable. Added Meyer: "Inasmuch as they might have to sell off some weaker operations, it could even end up to be a long-term gain."

But when the final court actions have run their course—and after the lawyers have collected their fees and Union Carbide has paid the settlements and adjusted its operations—it is unlikely that the issue of Bhopal will be much further ahead. Said Kenneth Finkel, who lost his wife and a son in the fatal acid gas case: "It is a plaintiff in one \$10-billion suit. Doesn't look to me about compensation. Money cannot bring back the dead."

With *Any Day* in New Delhi, William Leathers in Washington, Bob Stout in Toronto and David Lendorf in San Francisco.

An international union breaks apart

The fateful meeting started at 2:30 p.m. on Dec. 30 at the Porsche Motor in Dearborn, Mich., inside a brick-walled room lined with Christmas wreaths and garlands. But it was not a festive gathering. When the 25 gray-haired members of the United Auto Workers' international executive board assembled nearly two hours later from the closed-door meeting, one of North America's most powerful unions had been just assailed. Denied a fully independent role in collective bargaining by a vote of 16 to 1—his own—Robert White, director of the union's 113,000-member Canadian branch and a top vice-pres-

ident, made good his threat to secede from the U.S. union. White and UAW President Owen Bieber solemnly announced that a committee would be formed to work out details, which will take months. Although both men publicly played down any bitterness, White said Mackin's that dividing more than \$600 million in union assets "will not be easy." Added Bieber coolly: "Obviously, we wish them the best."



Bieber (left) and White: After debate, a new union and worry over future investments

Reaction to news of the divorce came swiftly. Some experts predicted that an independent Canadian UAW will jeopardize further automotive investment in Canada, swelling the 1992 U.S.-Canada auto pact interpreting the North American industry. Because many parts for cars assembled in the U.S. are made only in Canada, a domestic strike quickly

ed in a similar vein. John Smith, president of General Motors of Canada, based in Oshawa, Ont., said that future investment decisions must now take into account the potential impact of labor action in Canada on production throughout North America. Said Smith: "The recent 18-day now strike against GM of Canada, which shut down many plants in the United States, emphasizes this need." Warned Alfred Warren, vice-president of industrial relations for GM in Detroit: "We cannot afford to be held hostage by any union outside the United States."

Seeking to reassure critics, White vowed to take a responsible line in future bargaining. He said, "I do not intend to move to break away from the GM building in Oshawa." Pointing out that

wage rates are more than 17% on both here in Canada than in the United States because of the exchange rate and the difference in health insurance and pension costs, White said, "The companies know that Canada is a good place to build union and trucks."

Despite those reassurances, White has gained power and popularity for his tough, no-nonsense negotiating. During 1982 bargaining, when the whole industry was losing money, White rejected demands by Ford and GM for concessions and led a five-week strike against Chrysler. And in October, White again broke ranks by striking GM for higher wages after U.S. workers settled for profit-sharing and job security. Then, angered by what he called "interference" from Bieber and backed by the UAW's Canadian Council, White launched his autonomy move.

After the breaking in Dearborn, speculation focused on prospects that an independent Canadian UAW would push for the establishment of a Canadian metal workers' Federation to link workers in steel, aircraft and electrical products. But Gerard Dequey, national director for the 165,000-member Canadian section of the United Steelworkers of America, "lamented" White's move and added, "Our members remain committed to international trade unionism."

Still, Cool Taylor, president of Steelworkers Local 1003 in Hamilton and a supporter of independence for Canadian workers, endorsed the breakaway. Said Taylor: "That is fantastic. I have been waiting 20 years for this." Other union leaders applauded the split. Among the cheerleaders were Dennis McDermott, president of the two-million-member Canadian Labor Congress—White's predecessor in the now- and John Lang, secretary-treasurer of the 60,000-member Confederation of Canadian Unions. But while experts agreed that the full impact of the UAW rift will probably not be felt for years, one thing is clear: Robert White has fundamentally altered the path of unions in Canada.

—MICHAEL SALTZER, staff by Johnson in Dearborn

A dazzling debut in New York

By Peter C. Newman

Drifting around the private receptions before the meeting of the Economic Club of New York last week, it was hard to name any Canadian power brokers who had staged losses. They turned out to pay visible homage to the Prime Minister's official American debut. Dressed in their best black-tie regalia, the Canadians were sending home the strong signal that they approved of his message.

More remarkable was the laft of the buzz from the U.S. investment community who came to this, the 30th dinner in the 71 years the Economic Club has been holding such events. It isn't the most influential audience outside a joint session of Congress, representing a distillation of the decision makers who redistribute U.S. investments among the world's first shores.

These are the Wall Street big hitters, men with large career offices who never dial their own telephones and would happily finance another assault on the Pyrenees by Hitler if he could only keep his books straight. Many of their wives were there, attracted by the reputation of Mitt and Helen as North America's newest and most glamorous power couple. They looked like the kind of women who raise Lham Apsos, wear aviator glasses for walks in the country, live for great parties and have set the top list for their numberless "Ladies, Madams, I've loved me of these creatures breathlessly knowing another, "this is really a big deal. That guy with the hair is the President of Canada."

Why Mulroney astonished about the game who through the huge hotel ballroom was that, once more than envying fat bottom lines, his listeners wanted to be loved. At a time when just about any politician in the Third World and most of Europe can get elected by promising Ronald Reagan's "Ladies, Madams, I've loved me of these creatures, these men and women championing their flat misdeeds resented their isolation and asked for strangers to underwrite their righteousness.

Mulroney's message, delivered in his best black-tie dinner speech, was direct and to your neighbors and we will be your friends. "To all who seek a definition of peaceful accommodation between nations, I say look no further. It is infinitely more than a strategy of war, a prospect that has marked the evolution of two countries over the years."

Mulroney understands these power

players in a way that Pierre Trudeau and René Lévesque, who addressed those same group, never did. These merchant adventurers are not frightened off by investment risks and were never bothered by Trudeau's anti-deregulation or Lévesque's notions about separation. What they cannot tolerate is any politician who changes "the rules of the game" under which funds were originally committed.

That was why the loudest ovation of



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A fight to get Via Rail back on track

Last year's holiday season produced a shiver of complaints from thousands of Canadians who travelled on the passenger train system, Via Rail. Between Dec. 15 and Jan. 3 more than 200 trains arrived late and others never even left their stations.

The peak season for rail traffic coincided with blizzards, which obscured signal lights and slowed trains in Ontario and Quebec, a detriment in the Gaspé and lower packed stations as hard as concrete along New Brunswick tracks. Then, last month federal Transport Minister Don Mazankowski announced the third official investigation into Via's operations since last year. But to many observers Via's problems are already clear for one thing, a scandal. The Transport Commission (COTC) report published last October noted, "No other railway in the industrialized world extracts its multi-hour services to a fleet of locomotives as obsolete as does Via."

Even in good weather, Via's fleet experiences mechanical breakdowns. Recent locomotives are 20 years old, and the 31 three-year-old Capital-made Ltd. ("Tight, rapid, comfortable") diesel locomotives are only available 80 per cent of the time that they are scheduled to run. Only half of the trains—skipping 1,600—on Via's prestigious Montreal-Toronto route ran on time in 1983.

Via president Pierre Francine acknowledged his railway's poor performance and said that he hopes to improve it eventually by buying new locomotives and equipment. As well, the railway has laid elaborate plans to avert holiday problems this year. Added Francine, "Unfortunately, we do not have the luxury of new equipment to aid as in this task."

Via's emergency holiday plan includes chartering trains on transcontinental routes, which will make them the best choice for holiday trains that were used last year and whose scheduled 30-year-old steam heating systems often proved unequal to the chal-

lenge of warring passenger compartments in the unusually odd weather. Via will also add 45 trains or will travel routes and will hold "guard" trains in reserve at several strategic points, including Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, fully stocked with food and ready to replace disabled trains on short notice, schedules who will travel with key trains on heavily used routes, and a doubling of the 26-hour opera-

20 per cent of Via Rail's service.

For his part, Pagan argued that the cuts would generate \$100 million for the purchase of 16 new cars to be used in the heavily travelled Quebec City-Windsor corridor. The second element that Pagan's cuts actually saved is still a subject of intense debate among transport experts, but when Lloyd Awerbuch succeeded Pagan in 1983 he reinstated some of the rail services, including Montreal-Toronto, Montreal-Vancouver, two-W and pig-lick and a New Brunswick dayliner and Vancouver.



Men: saving Via in spite of a proposed \$100-million budget cut

tion staff at headquarters in Montreal. In newspaper advertisements that appeared across the country last week, Via assured prospective passengers that even the worst blizzards will not stop its trains this year.

Since its creation in 1977, Via's steady losses have pushed its annual deficit today up to more than \$60 million, compared to \$300 million in 1973, while critics—including the COTC—charge that the quality of service has driven passengers away. Still, when Liberal Transport Minister Jean Leclerc Pagan ordered the elimination of 15 trains and the cancellation of six others in November, 1981, thousands of people demonstrated, lobbied and wrote letters opposing the summary removal of

legislation and try to work out a more efficient plan for the use of Canadian National and Union Pacific equipment. When Mazankowski announced the group's formation, he declared "This is not another study. I don't want a report. I want decisions and action to move the system into the 21st century."

Still, Finance Minister Michael Wilson announced in November that his government plans to cut \$95 million from Via's budget. And although sources say that Mazankowski's commitment to upgrade Via is firm, more money for new equipment remains the most pressing priority. Besides, Pagan's task, the priority of Christmas travel may seem insignificant.

—MICHAEL CLUGGINS in Ottawa

Mulroney: a five welcome, open door

the evening greeted Mulroney's declaration: "There shall be one game—building Canada—and one set of rules. These shall not be changed after the game has started in the delivery of any of the players."

Mulroney said little that was new, but his words carried a disproportionate impact because the chief executive officers of the Fortune 500 in the audience were bowled over by statements of policy issued by foreign governments, or even the "virtuosity" prepared by their own in-

As the evening ended and the crowd dispersed, the focus of the Economic Club members were relaxed in a post-oid glow of satisfaction: Canada is the guy with the key who's running America's affairs in new-found style.

It had been a tough crowd to charm, and as they climbed back into the limo, they were already reverting back to tips.

"Hey, Virgil," somebody yelled across the street, "what's the world's fastest animal?"

"Boris!"

"A chicken—in Kitchissippi!"



Outside the Morgentaler Clinic, 50 women a day pushed through the protests

LAW

Debating abortion again

The first three women sentenced at the newly reopened Morgentaler Clinic in downtown Toronto just after 6 a.m. on Dec. 10. One of them was about to undergo an abortion—the first performed at the clinic since police raided and closed it on July 8, 1988. The other two, Morgentaler supporters, were acting as escorts to make it difficult for anti-abortionists to detain women who were the patient. For the next four days an estimated 40 women waiting abortions went to the clinic and, in each case, had to pass through a line of picketers chanting, "Stop killing the babies." Then frustration proved too much for the previously disciplined picketers: police arrested and carried off seven demonstrators, four men and three women, and charged them with trespassing. And Police Chief Jack Marks held a press conference to deny a story published in the *Toronto Star* that he had cancelled a planned raid at the clinic at the request of Ontario Attorney General Roy McMurtry. Marks added that he could still order a raid at any time.

Since an Ontario court acquitted Dr. Henry Morgentaler and his associates last November of conspiring to procure a miscarriage, McMurtry, who is running for the leadership of the Ontario Conservative Party, has faced criticism from people on both sides of the issue. Debate. Anti-abortion groups praised his decision to ask the Ontario Court of Appeal to review the acquittal. But clinic spokeswoman Judy Rabik said,

"The attorney general is playing a very cynical game with women's lives."

Speaking in the provincial legislature last week, McMurtry said it would be improper to take further action to close the clinic before the court hears the appeal. McMurtry publicly asked Morgentaler, who was vacationing outside the country, to close the Toronto clinic voluntarily. But James Hughes, president of *Compulsory Life*, an organization which has been recruiting up to 100 people daily for picket duty at the clinic, "McMurtry is protecting the lawbreakers. The whole thing stinks of politics."

The initial reports that police had cancelled a planned raid at the last minute appeared to support the *Compulsory Life* charge that McMurtry was interfering with police operations to control potential damage to his leadership campaign. But both Marks and Deputy Attorney General John Tschudi denied the charge at the hastily convened press conference. Said Marks, "There is no point of disagreement between the police force and the attorney general."

By week's end there was an evidence that Marks's assurances had either placated the demonstrators or caused the tension inside the Morgentaler Clinic. Said Rabik, "We have been expecting a real issue we opened and some of our women patients are very upset. The fact that they are willing to go through a picket line and the media and possibly a police raid is a testament to their desperation."

—SARAH BLACKMAN, with Robert Stock

ENVIRONMENT

Cleaning up deadly waste

When the U.S. Air Force closed 21 obsolete distant Early Warning (EWS) radar stations across the Canadian Arctic in 1963, administration of the abandoned sites reverted to the federal government. But recent evidence indicates that Canada inherited more than just empty buildings. A November report by the federal Environmental Protection Service (EPS) concluded that surplus equipment on the abandoned sites could contain up to 1,400 gallons of polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), highly carcinogenic chemicals used to retard heat buildup in electrical equipment and burned by Ottawa in 1989. Now the federal government says that it will remove the PCBs from the old station next summer.

Last July a five-member EPS team discovered that small amounts of PCBs had seeped into the ground near five abandoned radar stations within a 90-km radius of Cambridge Bay, N.W.T. Federal tests on Arctic char and cod in the area showed PCB levels below health department guidelines, lowering the concern of people in the region. As well, Dr. David Kitchel, a department medical officer in Yellowknife, said that the PCBs found in the fish resulted from the worldwide use of the chemical and not from the local use sites.

Federal and territorial government officials met in Ottawa last week to discuss the removal of the carcinogenic chemicals from the sites next July. They agreed that federal northern development department officials will develop the contaminated soil and electrical equipment at one of the remaining active EWS sites near Cambridge Bay, but that will provide only a temporary solution. The reason: PCBs are almost indestructible and disposal cannot be carried out only at special facilities with incinerators capable of producing temperatures of 1,300°C, none of which exist in Canada. The U.S. Air Force has been shipping the chemicals from active EWS sites to a site in Texas but air force authorities have not officially quantified themselves to a similar effort from the abandoned radar stations. Unfortunately, however, the air force has expressed its willingness to help and by late next year the PCBs should be no threat to American incinerators.

—SANDRA SOUCHETTE in Yellowknife

THEATRE

New themes from the musical stage

By Mark Carmichael

Traditionally, a "musical" meant for choreographers a play filled with memorable tunes and captivating dance numbers, supporting an often sentimental love story. But the cry of the traditional musical may be drawing to a close, as music and theatre gradually regroup under the more comprehensive heading of "musical theatre." In the experiments of such composers and lyricists as Stephen Sondheim and Philip

able, as playwright Arthur Miller commented this month, "We have no real theatre. We have shows, which isn't the same thing. It's wrong that for a show to be a hit it has to be sold out." The stifling effects of such harsh assessments have forced musical-theatre innovators, including even the world-renowned Sondheim, to off Broadway and beyond, where they can take greater risks. At the same time, operas are moving from opera houses to theatre stages. Sixty-three-year-old Joseph Papp's New York

musical, *Purple Heartbeats*, has been winning raves at the Promenade Theatre.

Sondheim's whimsical, detailed scenarios blend the traditional Japanese Noh and Kabuki theatre with Western music, vaudeville and—in such a show stopper as *Phantom of the Opera*—the wit of Gilbert and Sullivan. Instead of plot, *Overtones* presents a series of poetic sketches showing how Japanese of all classes, from politicians to samurai to laborers, react to technological exploitation



Cost of *Purple Heartbeats* (left). Picture in Sunday in the Park (right). Blueprints for future American theatre



Glass, the new ways of writing music and theatre—whether in disc, movie or opera—are yielding multidimensional patterns which may serve as blueprints for future American theatre. Meanwhile, in London's West End, the opening last month of Melynn Bragg's *The First Mrs. Frobisher* indicates that British theatre has developed its own form of music.

A key factor in these innovations is economics. In New York production costs for a medium-sized show start at \$500,000 while ticket prices for good seats are much less. Unless a moderately successful production becomes a smash hit and generates square upon-off revenue, it is often closed as unprofitable.

Shakespeare Festival has followed up its successful version of the Gilbert and Sullivan operas *The Pirates of Penzance* in 1981, starring Linda Ronstadt, with another appearance by the rock star in Papp's opera *La Bohème*.

Still, few individuals have been as avowed in reinventing the musical as Sondheim, 53, the lyricist for *West Side Story* (1957) who has written the score and lyrics for 10 other Broadway musicals. This fall three of his works played simultaneously in New York, while his latest musical, *Sunday in the Park With George*, played on Broadway, a revival of his 1970 hit *Shogun* (1970), appeared at the New York City Opera and a scaled-down remount of his 1976 Broadway

by the West—especially the United States. Perry is infinitely obstructed as a dancer too with her length, flowing white hair.

Most surprising in *Overtones* is its emotional richness in such a crowded dramatic laboratory, barely feeling cold easily be overlooked. But Sondheim, aided by Bruce Soder's delicate direction and the simple, inventive design, once again touches the audience in unfamiliar ways. Instead of the musical's usual love interest, the play speaks at a moment of emotions more common to serious drama, from the loss of childhood innocence to the tragedy of humanity's chronic inability to communicate.

In 1976 Broadway was unprepared for the erotic virtues of *Overboard*. But its revival and success off-Broadway mirrors the development of Sondheim's ground-breaking *Sunday in the Park with George*. It has nurtured its general, mature fans off Broadway—the first time Sondheim has created a creature elsewhere before trusting it to Broadway's capricious climate.

Currently playing at the Booth Theatre, *Sunday* is a complex, intellectually challenging inquiry into the creative

book and also dancing, pull off a dramatic coup by leaping ahead a century. Marie, now 86, is helping her grandson, also called George, to introduce his latest latest-at piece of technological sculpture at an art gallery reception. But George knows that his inspiration is flagging, and only by returning to the island of Grande Jatte can he tap his artistic bloodlines and start again. Like Sondheim's painting, viewed in its proper perspective, Sondheim's scattered melodies slowly come together in moving

where there also expanding their horizons to include territory that opera lovers had considered their chosen form's exclusive domain until recently. In *Les Bâtons*, at off-Broadway's The Public Theatre, director Wilford Brinley draws convincing, restrained performances from the show's alternate lead, Patti Cohenour, as Mimi, and country-and-western singer Gary Morris as her lover, Rodolfo.

As *Sunday* reaches out to incorporate unexpected forms, opens at the same time in drawing closer to theatre. One of opera's most controversial designers and directors is the American artist Robert Wilson, whose 40-hour epic *Eisenstein on the Beach*, with music and lyrics by Philip Glass, 42, has just opened at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. Originally produced in 1959, *Eisenstein* has been an object of cult worship ever since. In their Hermetician attempts to construct a new mode of artistic expression, the two pioneers work with only the most basic artistic elements. Glass's minimalist score employs endless variations on a limited number of rhythmic patterns, while the lyrics are restricted to the mimesis of the voices themselves. The movement opens stage alternately develops a complete absence of sets, with dancers twirling against a monochrome backdrop followed by scaffolding dotted with light bulbs for the apocalyptic finale.

Eisenstein has no story in a traditional sense. Wilson's subliminally clear choreography of his dancing, surreal images constitutes the only action. An investigation into the aesthetic and intellectual foundations of Wilson's theory of relativity, the work mesmerizes the best and the worst of the 1980s avant-garde movement in which Wilson is rooted. Its techniques hold a unique mirror to the viewer's subconscious, but several extended sequences are simply boring—say, do not lead to contemplation, as Wilson intended, but to the bar. Yet without such magnificent, obscure gambles as *Eisenstein*, music theatre would develop much more slowly.

Although it is unlikely that *Amateurs* will ever play on Broadway, the subtlest success of Sondheim's Broadway indiscretion that, even in its current state of acute creative tension, Broadway has not shut tight the door as change. Still, its future functions may be restricted to generating solid income from its traditional fare and theatrical innovations, including *Sunday*, which have proven themselves elsewhere. As for music theatre, public taste is already showing signs of a willingness to try something new in exchange for the old Broadway musical—before that form's legs give out forever.

With Nicholas Javonius in London



proceeds. Its focus is the 19th-century French painter Georges Seurat and his most famous work, *A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of Grande Jatte*, which he completed in 1886. Seurat borrows each color into its component parts with his pointillist technique, so that at a distance the viewer's eye reassembled the whole. Similarly, Sondheim presents a seemingly unrelated tangle of musical and philosophical ideas in the first act which triumphantly fall into place in the second.

The setting is the park in Seurat's painting where George (Robert Westenberg) obsessively sketches Dot (Bernadette Peters), his long-suffering mistress. She eventually abandons him and moves to the United States with their baby, Marie, but George rejects her accusations that he is a selfish, speaking for both Seurat and Sondheim, George proclaims: "I am not hiding behind my easel—but I am living in it."

Having anchored their work so firmly in a particular time and place, Sondheim and James Lapine, who wrote the

lyricism characters which praise the gods of creativity and once again affirm the instantly inherent in great art.

Musicals, British crowds are currently flocking to a work co-produced with England's manner writer of American-style musicals, Andrew Lloyd Webber (Webber's musical, *Cats*, is still packing houses both on Broadway and in the West End.) But the new work is uniquely British. Written by Melvyn Fragg, *The Mirror Man* is a stirring, romantic view of life in English rural communities around the time of the First World War. Howard Goodall's inspired score, especially powerful in the male choruses, merges his rich lyrical music of Richard Wagner rather than the Broadway musical tradition, and it perfectly suits the braque emotions of rural life overall. *The Mirror Man* offers a refreshing approach to the working class at play.

The Mirror Man is a first step for British theatre in formulating its own recipe for mixing music and theatre. But music-theatre professionals every-

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The CBC faces the music

By Gillian MacKay

In CBC offices across the country, the panic had been building for weeks. The Conservative government's plan, announced on Nov. 8, to cut \$75 million from next year's projected \$666 million grant, with an additional \$60 million taken from a special program for remote communities, had left almost everyone searing for their jobs. At 3 p.m. last Tuesday, the majority of the corporation's 12,000 employees huddled in sound studios, boardrooms or reception areas to watch president Pierre Jussé as over-the-shoulder cameras from Ottawa, forty-five minutes after he was due to begin speaking, Jussé finally appeared before the cameras. Wearing a dark suit, nervousness in his every expression, he begged his employees to treat his words as "a privileged communication." Then he told them he had done his best to "carry out a painful task in as fair and rational a way as possible." Jussé's gloomy holiday season message, 1,150 positions would be eliminated from the CBC effective April 1, 1985.

Reasons: The depleted ranks and shrunken budgets will almost certainly undermine the quality of programming at the battle-scarred corporation. The cuts include \$30 million from administrative and nonprogram expenditures, \$15.5 million from network programming, \$18.4 million from regional programming, \$13 million from capital expenditures, \$5 million from services and further savings from consolidation of a Talent project and equipment changes in parliamentary broadcasts. The CBC hopes to eliminate 400 positions through attrition, early retirement incentives and not filling vacancies. Jussé said that among the 700 people to be laid off, 400 will come from administration and the rest from production. Although the largest numbers will be laid off in Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa, regional stations including Vancouver, Winnipeg and Windsor have suffered proportionately larger cutbacks, and a small non-main radio station—CBC, in Gander, Nfld.—will be closed. Said independent

producer John Kasser, whose documentaries have won two Emmy Awards for the corporation, "Before the curtain, cuts the CBC was a weakened and bleeding body. What the CBC required was delicate surgery. What we got was the 'Joy' chairman's massacre."

And some observers say that the impact of the cuts goes even deeper than it appears on the surface. Union officials claim that cuts in contract work

quality of the CBC's offerings will suffer. Leaders say that the 1986-87 schedule, already in production, will not be as rich as future seasons. The production news department has been affected. But hardest-hit will be top-budget television dramas, specials and documentaries on the scale of the acclaimed and internationally aired *Kopfer, Inc.*, and *The Canadian Establishment*. Jussé admitted that the CBC must now postpone its much-vaunted plans to increase drama and children's programming and to increase Canadian content on prime-time television to 10 per cent by 1988, objectives that Jussé himself ardently championed in 1983. Said John H. Kennedy, head of CBC television drama, "This is a major crack in the dream of Canada having the TV schedule."

Appealing: Many members of the arts community perceive the cutbacks as part of a larger pattern of retrenchment from the traditional Liberal emphasis on cultural institutions. In recent weeks the government has ordered cuts ranging from \$50 million to \$1 million in the budgets of the Canada Council, the National Film Board, the National Arts Centre and the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. The Tory government's new green-light attitude to foreign investment has also created uncertainty over its commitment to maintaining Canadian ownership of cultural industries. Author Pierre Berle, a longtime panelist on the CBC's Front Page Challenge, told Montreal's *Le Soleil* that the cultural cutbacks are part of a

total downgrading of economic and cultural nationalism. They are taking the finger out of the dike. It is very dangerous—and appalling."

But by for the most dramatic surgery has occurred at the CBC. Said Halifax producer Herve Franklin, president of the 310-member National Radio Producers' Association: "There seems to be a sentiment in the government that the CBC should be sold off—or be a propaganda machine."

In an address last week, Jussé acknowledged that the Canadian public and politicians believed the CBC to be wasteful and overstaffed. Jussé admitted

that the public perception is partly justified. In a report last summer Auditor General Kenneth Dye accused the corporation of sloppy management practices, including poor long-range planning and inadequate control over overtime pay. After Dye's report, David Chouin, then Conservative communications critic, denounced the CBC for waste, saying "The CBC needs more programs, not more vice-presidents, more money for talent, less money for a forest of salaries or how to talk their way out of the auditor general's indictment of their unacceptable wastage."

Less: Still, the CBC's current second round by comparison with other broadcasters—public and private. In 1978 the U.S. management consulting firm McKinsey and Co. concluded that the CBC was "lean and efficient" in its operations compared with public and private broadcasters around the world. Six years ago it cost \$1,400 to put one hour of original CBC programming before viewers, compared with \$43,500 in Britain and \$75,400 in Japan. The report concluded, "The private sector simply could not do the job with the level of resources now committed to the CBC." Since then, the CBC's budget has declined in terms of constant



Empire, Inc.'s Robin Ward, Jennifer Dale, Mitch Martin: 'lean and efficient' CBC operations

dollars by four per cent a year. In that period, the corporation has absorbed \$300 million in new expenditures on goods and services—and such expensive programs as *The Journal*—without a corresponding increase in budget.

The department of communications reportedly persuaded the CBC to cut more from management and less from the publicly sensitive regions than the corporation had originally intended. Jussé cut Montreal 1980 jobs to centralize control in Ottawa, had created considerable duplication of management

functions with the regions. Jussé insisted last week that administrators had borne the brunt of the cutbacks. But even after the trimming of an estimated 70 out of 800 jobs at the CBC's Ottawa headquarters on Benson Avenue, producers claimed that senior management will still be top-heavy. The CBC will not reveal if any of its 114 vice-presidents, who earn between \$75,000 and \$200,000 a year, has been fired.

Severe: Early rumors of CBC plans to apply particularly severe cuts in the regions caused local agitation across the country. Although no jobs were lost at the CBC's five production centres in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, eight Northern Service jobs in Ottawa and Montreal were cut. Said Colin Booth, CBC arts manager, Yvonne, in Whitehorse, "They reduced our role in the North and displaced by other broadcast media."

Still, the regions were hit hard. In Vancouver, which lost 90 jobs, Donald Williams, head of B.C. television drama, argues that the CBC is centralizing production and control at the expense of the regions. Said Williams: "The whole business of playing a significant part in the cultural life of this country is being nibbled down the toilet."

The government left most key decisions about programming cuts to the CBC itself. At the news conference last week Jussé defended his autonomy, and said, "There was no attempt to take us back to Canada's time and give Canadians more news information." In fact, the CBC's news and information programming will be the least affected by the cuts. The corporation is going

Franklin: "is continued that CBC should be sold off—or be propaganda"



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HEALTH

The perils of tiny toys

To children, the joy of the holiday season is largely restricted to a single word: toys. But the festive proliferation of toys has become a health hazard that exists year-round. More than 300,000 North American children become victims of their toys every year, often by swallowing or inhaling them. Toddlers who swallow small plastic toys, or parts of toys, risk serious intestinal damage, and accidental choking is the second-most frequent cause of death among children under 4. Because plastic does not show up on X-rays, making a diagnosis is difficult or even impossible. But now the world's leading toy manufacturers have developed and introduced a new plastic formula, which X-rays can detect. And experts are baffling the new plastic, soon to become common throughout the industry, as a valuable tool for swift diagnosis and, in some cases, a lifesaver.

Hawthorne, Calif.-based Mattel, Inc. began developing the new formula in 1979 in response to a request from the Chicago-based American Academy of Pediatrics, a parent and poison prevention commission. Company scientists devised a way to mix plastic with barium sulphate—a substance commonly administered to patients before gastrointestinal X-rays—and began using the mixture in toys in 1982. This year Mattel used it in the small plastic parts of all its new toys. That includes all toy parts smaller than 1.2 inches by .25 inches. And, according to Spencer Batte, Mattel vice-president for corporate affairs, the company has already developed the formula free of charge to more than 100 other manufacturers who have requested it. Batte says: "It is not competitive interference."

The new development has gained the approval of the federal department of consumer and corporate affairs, and Canadian pediatricians are also enthusiastic about its value as a diagnostic aid. For his part, Dr. Donald Stewart, director of the medical clinic at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children, agrees that the new plastic is "a most added safety device." But Stewart cautioned that many other substances children can choke on, such as nuts, can still elude X-rays. Because of that, as long as toddlers continue to chew anything that they can manage to fit into their mouths, the problem will remain a serious one. —CAROLYN FRIEMAN

FILMS

A panorama of worlds in collision

A PASSAGE TO INDIA
Directed by David Lean

David Lean's *A Passage to India* is an elusive re-creation of E.M. Forster's famous last novel into film as anyone could hope for. It was obviously a labor of love. Lean, now 76, wrote the screenplay, directed and edited the film. It is his first in 14 years, after a distinguished career that has included *Bridgeline*, *Goodbye Mr. Toms*, and *Lawrence of Arabia*. Despite respect Lean has for Forster's work, and his own superb craftsmanship, *A Passage to India* never achieves the intimacy of the book. That is less a criticism of Lean's work than an acknowledgment of the extraordinary difficulty of turning great novels into equally great films.

But in the India of the 1930s during the first stirrings of dissent over British rule, Forster's almost platonic book concerns itself superficially with a clash between two cultures. But its deeper subject is the lack of intimacy between people regardless of their easily labeled creeds. That is where Mrs. Moore (Dame Peggy Ashcroft) to connect offensively yet fearfully after school in the Marabar caves frighten her. "We are passing figures in a hellish universe." Within the expensive, exclusive and alien terrain, Mrs. Moore, an elderly, wise and opinionated woman, discovers the strangeness of ordinary life itself in *A Passage to India* people do not connect, especially when they must wait.

Mrs. Moore has come to India to visit her son, Ronny Heaslop (Sipal Havens), along with his fiancée, Miss Quested (Judy Davis), a nervous virgin. Neither of the two women is happy with Ronny's English leadership or that of the continent which has unobscurely attracted to its rich. Both Mrs. Moore and Miss Quested want to embrace the new culture, and they are anxious for adventure. On a moonlit night Mrs. Moore meets an Indian doctor, Aziz (Vijay Varma), in a mosque. He tells her that the shimmering river outside its wooden carmen crouches and, occasionally, feeding dead bodies. Startled, Mrs. Moore declares, "What a terrible river," and then, in a word after thought, "What a wonderful river." What Lean catches anxiously in the



Marabar (between police) inevitable destiny and a godless universe

A Passage to India is Forster's perception of the terror behind all intense beauty. The sexually repressed Miss Quested finds those two opposites at a temple overgrown with vines whose erotic sculptures covert before her eyes and

David, the terror behind all beauty



vicious monkeys chase her away. Later, during the expedition to the Marabar caves, alone in the cavern of darkness, something happens to cause her to accuse the Savage God of attempted rape. The trial that follows sends Mrs. Moore back to England, alienates Aziz's friend Fielding (James Fox) from the blood-thirsty English and becomes a political rumormonger for the Indians as well. The aftermath succeeds in separating by an even wider gulf, those who would be friends.

An 163 minutes, *A Passage to India* is too long. Lean cannot maintain the same quiet momentum as Forster did with his words. But as with all his films, it is lovely to watch, and the performances, especially Ashcroft's as the delightful Mrs. Moore, are delicately calibrated. Most memorable of all is Alec Guinness's miniature portrait of Godbole, the serene philosopher who believes in the inseparable nature of destiny and premeditation. Surely no other actor alive could make such high comic art out of posing a banana as Guinness does in one scene. Like the novel, Lean's meditative, graceful film laments and marvels at the mysteries of human behavior. His camera can never move as close to the characters as Forster's pen, but his film does move near and patiently enough to evoke Forster's ironic story—not for how things once were, but for how, it seems, they still always be. —LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

Archvillainy on celluloid

SUPERHERO.
Directed by Jonant Szwarc

Superhero, a low-flying entry in the holiday-movie genre, swooshes, starts with an appropriately absurd comic-book premise, a whirling mass ball that looks like a writhing Christmas tree ornament, crashes from space. It lands on Earth in the chesty grip of Selena, a plucky young woman (Faye Dunaway). With that chance encounter, wicked Selena gains The Power and becomes a prime candidate to rule the universe. Earth's goodies, Supermen, is off on business in a faraway galaxy. To deal with the problem, his first cousin, Supergirl (Heidi Slater), arrives on the planet—disguised as Linda Lee, private schoolgirl. Supergirl's time, a spinning space station, requires the quick return of the same single ball or its air supply will evaporate and its light source will disappear.

Newcomer Slater is a strange casting choice for Supergirl. Sweet and soft, without any breathless, she would be more in character as a Walt Disney heroine than as a bruised, superhumanly powerful and athletic Amazon. Still, Slater is not the major problem with *Supergirl*. In fact, she is a fresh, sincere element to a movie riddled by stale, bloated, cynical performances. Her name Marlon Brando granted him way through his multimillion-dollar minutes at the apex of the first Supermen (1978), the "Bep" series has been a notorious excuse for making Hollywood money to march the scenery, take the actors and run.

Producers Alexander and Hya Salnikow have compounds of that flue by putting *Supergirl* in the unexciting, anticlimactic directorial clasp of Jonant Szwarc (John M. Szwarc has encouraged excess. *Dunaway* shamelessly covets as the haughty Selena, and Brando Varnou as Selena's witch roommate, Maroon, is equally oversteering) and also overweights the movie with night-bat dances do nothing to help Peter Cook as the witless troupe teacher-Druid, Nigel, completes a trio of indigestion. For bad measure, the film also throws in Peter O'Toole, slandering an Ealing Studios production, as man, and—most inefficiently—Mia Farrow is a phoney, geyser-eyed cameo as Supergirl's weepy mother. After two hours of failed drama and failed fun, *Supergirl* leaves the clear impression that the "Bep" series should at last be prohibited. —GREGG KLEIN



Kinski, blunder, blunder, belated, contraindicating only through glumness

A quest for past and future

PARIS, TEXAS
Directed by Wim Wenders

Wim Wenders delights in strangeness and beauty on the road. *Paris, Texas*, his extraordinary new film and winner of the Golden Palm at the 1984 Cannes Film Festival, begins with the haunting image of a man wearing a jacket, his head up, walking alone through the desert of northern Texas. He collapses, only a road that leads to his brother's phone number allows a doctor to identify the man. His name is Travis (Harry Dean Stanton) and for the past four years he has been missing, presumed dead. His brother, Walt (Deen Diederich), a billboard company owner, rescues him and takes him to Los Angeles, where Walt and his wife, Anna (Aurore Clement), live in a home overlooking an airport and a freeway. In *Paris, Texas*, America is always on the move, and Travis's brooding figure embodies his restlessness.

Years of wandering have deprived him of his identity, and with each intensity Travis seeks out to escape his past. The longing for roots has even driven him to buy a vacant lot in a small Texas town already named Paris, where his parents first made love and where he dreamed of settling down. Wenders and his songwriter, Sam Shepard, clearly understood what North Americans so often forget. That the search for a usable future depends on an intimacy with the past. During Travis's last moments, Walt and Anna have raised Travis's young son, Hunter (Hunter

Cress), as though it were their own. But after a few days in Los Angeles, Travis takes Hunter away for the return drive to Texas, in search of the boy's mother, Jane (Nastassja Kinski).

The story unfolds in the slow, evocative rhythms of Ry Cooder's guitar blues, viewers accustomed to the frantic pace of TV may be shocked to find that the film moves as faster than Texas speech. With a Texas accent more credible than the rusty English voice she assumed in *True Romance*, Kinski is a pleasant surprise. Cressel shows a watchful presence remarkable for a child actor, and Stanton, with his suggestion and awkward gentleness, is a revelation.

Still, *Paris, Texas* is a director's movie. Wenders, one of Germany's finest filmmakers, responds in America with a mixture of bewilderment and awe. Houston and Los Angeles seem to be momentary resting places on an endless journey or even crises from the realm of dreams. That journey has battered the film's characters so much that they need mimicry to communicate. Travis finds Jane working in a pop shop, where men go to watch women through a one-way mirror, and he talks to her by phone without the benefit of touch. Equally, he can tell Hunter that "I love you more than my life" only with a tape cassette, which the boy plays in his absence. In the end, the greatest accomplishment of *Paris, Texas* is not so much in the dry poetry of Shepard's script or even the stunning photography of Bailey Maltin; it lies in the quality of love that Wenders infuses to his materials. —MARK ARON

Trafficking in sweet success

REVERELY HILLS COP
Directed by Martin Brest

Beverly Hills Cop is little more than a vehicle for the talents of Eddie Murphy. The former star of *Saturday Night Live* and two successful movies, *48 Hours* and *Taxi Driver*, appears in nearly every frame of the movie. And for good commercial reason: Following these two box office bonanzas, Paramount Pictures paid Murphy \$15 million to star in five movies, the largest personal-service contract in modern picture history. Paramount is getting the money's worth. But the viewer is not.

An Axel Foley, a Detroit narcotics detective who goes to Los Angeles to investigate the murder of his best friend (James Brown) against the city's wishes, Murphy dilutes the talent for the subterfuge that made him famous. Murphy's comedy has always had a cutting edge that went beyond considerations of taste, whether mansplaining as an insult-begging in *Taxi Driver* or making out on a radio-jock line. A 1980s hit and pretending to be the white in *48 Hours* The Axel Foley character retains some residue of the old Murphy style—a wit and salacious wit, a delight in playing a joke—but it is cooled down to radio-jock levels. The problems with *Reverely Hills* in *Reverely Hills* Cop is that in a little too sweet, success in Hollywood has apparently been an oversaturation to please.

A detective fiction, the story itself is a weak build. The studio art dealer (Steven Berkoff) and his assistant (Lisa Williams), another old friend of Foley's—the studio knows much too early who the killer is. Despite director Martin Brest's expert stagings of shootouts and chases, the movie lacks complexity or suspense. Some humor trickles through in a subplot featuring two drill and incompetent Los Angeles detectives (Judge Reinhold and John Ashton) following the resolute Foley, whose detective methods are highly unorthodox. At one point, to tell his partners, he shows himself into the tailpipe of their car. That is as dangerous as the movie ever gets.

The script often required Murphy to look into a bag of tricks. It is here he makes his look friendly and it succeeds only in making him look fake. The next line Murphy chooses a starring vehicle he should make sure it has a major in it. *Reverely Hills* Cop is indistinguishable from the rest of the Hollywood trifling. —LAWRENCE O'TOOLE



Siding (Joppy) battling MacLachlan a love of blavie affects and hardly faces

Cartoons in a sunless world

A mixture of intelligent science fiction and spiritual protest, Frank Herbert's 1965 novel *Dune* created an entire universe that inspired a dissonant following. Set in the year 10,000, *Dune* tells the story of a young messiah, Paul Atreides (Kyle MacLachlan), who the Fremen inhabitants of the arid planet Dune believe will deliver them from darkness. But before the prophecy can come true, Paul must foil a plot between the Emperor (Joel Ferrer) and the Baron (Kenneth McMillan) to board a life-preserving space called Midegal.

Herbert's own mix of Christian and Muslim religious thought and Greek and Celtic mythologies is disarmingly complex. Those unfamiliar with it may still find themselves mystified by *Dune*. De Laurence's \$40-million movie version (director and screenwriter David Lynch (*Eraserhead*, *The Elephant Man*)) lacks the conventional abilities to tell a story and create suspense, and has populated *Dune* with a mix of cartoonish elements. Atmospheric and detail are Lynch's abominations. The numerous, daunting rooms of the movie's institutionalized sunless world are hypnosis in their oppressive effect. The humor, too, is dark, particularly in the character of the Baron. McMillan's portrayal—complete with bolts, hair and black turtleneck—bears the film's only acceptable one.

But vivid imagery cannot dispel the movie's basic confusion. Paul engages in an obviously climactic fight with Fyrd (Fyrd (Fyrd, in a bit part), one of the Baron's henchmen, but there is no indication of why it is important. And the

dialogue (including such lines as "You will live out your life in a pain amplifier") essentially invites hilarity. If Lynch intended to make fun of the material, he has played a dubious joke on the fans of Frank Herbert.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 The Tallgrass King and Straws (1)
- 2 Straws: The Tallgrass King (1)
- 3 The Fourth Deadly Sin (1)
- 4 The Shiffrin, Pines (1)
- 5 Steve Dwyer, Captain, Archer (1)
- 6 First Army, Battle of (1)
- 7 The Apple of the Progression, London (1)
- 8 Not Wanted in the Vatican, London (1)
- 9 The Red, Over (1)
- 10 Paradoxes & Kinks, Long

Nonfiction

- 1 Insects, James van Nieuw (1)
- 2 A Day in the Life of Canada, Edited by Cohen (1)
- 3 The Proudest Land, Boston (1)
- 4 The Traders Inside Canada's Stock Markets, New York (1)
- 5 Loving Each Other, Birmingham (1)
- 6 What They Don't Teach You At Harvard Business School, McGraw-Hill (1)
- 7 Mayhem: The Making of the Prime Minister, Melbourne (1)
- 8 Son of Slough, Mount (1)
- 9 History on the Run, New York (1)
- 10 There, A Becker Story, Whitman (1)

(1) Fiction best seller

A new plan to create jobs

By Charles Gordon

It was fairly common in the Depression years for people to carry their Economic Plan with them wherever they went. Often the Economic Plan would be carried into a newspaper address, the Plan's author demanding to see the editor. Upon being granted an audience, the Author would produce the Economic Plan, hand-written and 16 pages long, from a soiled and wrinkled paper bag. The editor would give the Author an item's worth, as they added it to those days.

Pride of authorship being what it was, this was not always easy. The story is told of a Winnipeg editor who was disgusted to find that the Author of this day's Economic Plan stood six feet, four inches and weighed more than 200 lb. Furthermore, the Author did not seem to be in the mood to be ushered out. The Winnipeg editor had to think fast, and he did.

"Here, here," he said to the Author. "This plan is too big for us. We're just a little Winnipeg newspaper. I advise you to send it directly to the King."

The Author, being so fat, said he did not have the King's address. The editor gave it to him and a grateful Author departed, after putting the Economic Plan back in its paper bag.

Perhaps it is because the newspapers have, in many cases, moved to the suburbs. Perhaps it is because poverty has been scattered about the city, rather than concentrated downtown. Perhaps it is because today's Economic Plans are as loose competitors. Whatever the reason, nobody seems in with an Economic Plan anymore.

Yet one is needed. The unemployment low is high, even though it now forms at Statistics Canada rather than at Main Street. The dealer is not in great shape. The Prime Minister is begging Americans to come up and make us prosperous. Farms are bankrupting, farmers are laying off. Economists are bawling. And what is the solution?

The solution is jobs. Jobs? Sounds simple, but that's what it says on the outside of this paper bag here. Inside the bag, the handwriting is about as good as the handwriting on the outside. It is a handwritten paraphrase here, that this country does not really think jobs are that important, even though it says it does. The economic history of the past decade shows that.

The most important economic factor in Canada in that period have been tech-

nological change, sometimes known as "progress," and what the Economic Plan calls "deficit-banging." Every instance of progress has resulted in the loss of jobs rather than the creation of them.

The handwriting is scrawled here but the Economic Plan seems to make note of robots, which have been doing fine work in Japan and are beginning to find jobs here, at the expense of people. Six hundred of them are employed by Canadian manufacturers now, as opposed to 275 two years ago. The Economic Plan says that there will be more and makes a half-hearted crack about their breeding like robots. In the short run robots will create more work for people engaged in the manufacture of robots. But eventually robots will be able to manufacture themselves. You know how robots are.

This Economic Plan does not put the

The retired people will spend wages and create jobs. They will also pay taxes, and deficit-bangers will be happy

extra blame for progress on the private sector. It also singles out the government, making specific reference to the book *Five, or Canada First* or whatever it's called now, which taught people how to put a string of letters and digits on their addresses so that their mail could be sorted by machines instead of people. The sector about the deficit-bangers is heavily scrawled and covered with asterisks, as if it were written in a state of agitation. Deficit-bangers, says the Economic Plan, have caused schools to be closed, teachers to be laid off, universities to tighten their belts and renege on scholarships, and workers to be chopped, social workers to see their jobs, prisons to be overcrowded. It is the strongest portion of the Economic Plan, and a bit to remove bad words, that deficit-bangers are more interested in a law deficit than a low unemployment rate. The final-syllable section, having been overlooked, the Economic Plan goes on, as all Economic Plans must, to spell out solutions. The section about solutions is headed "Jobs."

The solutions section takes note of the Japanese economic miracle. It recalls that Tokyo buses and trolley cars were,

in the postwar years, manned by two people. One was the driver, the other collected fares. Visiting North Americans sneered at the system because it was inefficient. Efficient North American public transit vehicles only needed one operator. But inefficient Japanese public transit vehicles provided twice as many jobs.

The Economic Plan extends that reasoning to the post office, or whatever they call it. If those silly codes that no one can remember were eliminated, mail could be sorted by hand sorts and human beings could do the work. While the post office was at it, it could renege Saturday mail delivery, thereby putting some more people on the payroll and off the unemployment rolls.

The Economic Plan has harsh things to say about job creation schemes with fancy acronyms and complicated funding formulas. It doesn't see what was wrong with good old Winter Works. The Plan says that any time people are out of work is a good time to widen roads. Roads can always use widening.

The educational policy of the Economic Plan calls for the reopening of all closed schools, the rehiring of all laid-off teachers and a sincere apology to them for having been labelled "redundant." (Sincere apologies would be issued to Canadians in all walks of life so labelled, the missing process creating work for hundreds of people formerly in a redundant state themselves.) Schools under the Economic Plan would operate with small classes, and no one would apologize for them.

Retired workers will also pay taxes, and the deficit-bangers will be happy in the long run.

If pressed to the limit, the Economic Plan would play its hole card—a massive, nationwide monument-building program. Creation and construction of the monuments would create thousands of jobs and, at the same time, honor Canadian heroes, past and present. The Economic Plan, moreover, in a flash, would even provide for accurate commemorating leading deficit-bangers in Canada's history including, if they keep up their present pace, Michael Wilson and Brian Mulroney.

If it seems little better in its own land, the Economic Plan is prepared to go straight to the Queen. The address is written right on the paper bag Buckingham Palace. Even the postal code is there.

Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen.

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